

A N *Sam. Lewis*
E N Q U I R Y
I N T O T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S C O T L A N D

PRECEDING THE REIGN OF
MALCOM III. OR THE YEAR 1056.

I N C L U D I N G
T H E A U T H E N T I C H I S T O R Y
O F T H A T P E R I O D.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

B Y J O H N P I N K E R T O N.

ἩΜΕΡΑΙ ΕΠΙΛΟΙΠΟΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΙ.
VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA, *ADAGIA.*

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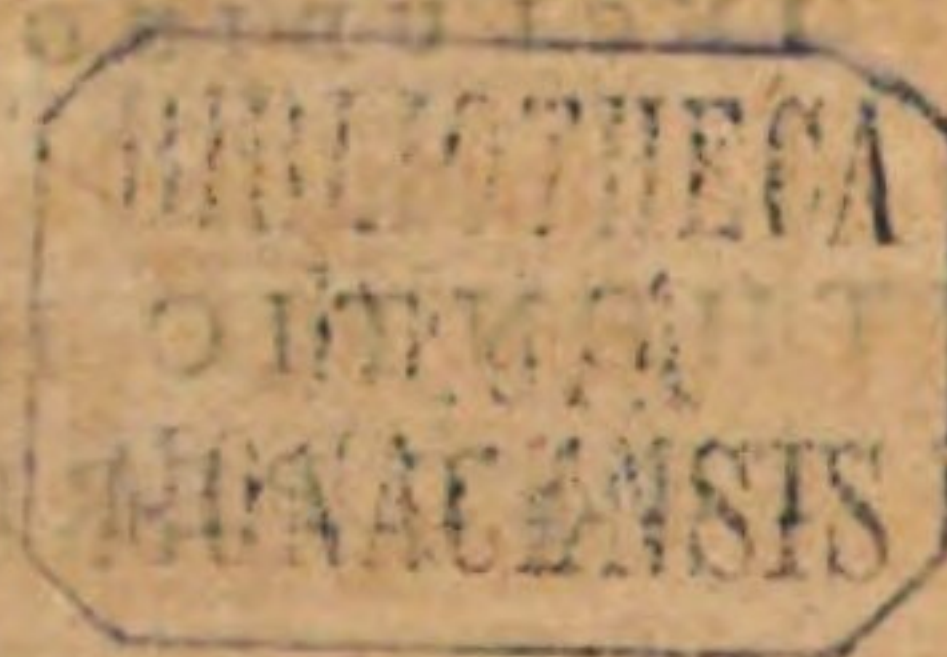
INTO THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND

PRECEDING THE REIGN OF
MARGARET OR THE YEAR 1056.



THE HISTORY
OF

IN TWO VOLUMES

BY JOHN PINKERTON.

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION
OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

VOLUME I.

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P R E F A C E.

THE history of Scotland begins to be sufficiently clear at the commencement of the reign of Malcom III. or the year 1056. But the period preceding that date has been long lost in fiction, for the same reason that an uncultivated field is over-grown with weeds: industry being as necessary in the literary as in the natural world.

Struck with the deplorable state of the ancient history of his country, at a time so enlightened as the present, and when most other kingdoms have weighed their antiquities in the sober scales of criticism, the author has devoted years of labour to this pursuit. Besides the powerful motive of curiosity, that fountain of human knowlege, he

was influenced by the wish of being useful to his countrymen; among whom he was concerned to see the most ingenious writers daily starting the most hypothetic conjectures concerning their early history. To examine the subject to the bottom were required considerable reading, previous experience in such matters, much leisure and love of the subject, and no great desire of wealth or fame. As these are no longer objects of praise, the author may, without offending modesty, lay claim to a portion of them.

The importance of the work was indeed such as might have excited, and required, far superior abilities. To fix the history of a country on the eternal basis of truth, is certainly none of the meanest of human enterprizes: nor is it a small object to attempt to remove from any nation that most disgraceful of all kinds of ignorance, the ignorance of its own history. One of the greatest of the ancients has warmly expressed himself on this subject; telling us that, "Not to know what has happened before one's birth, is to be always a child." And he observes elsewhere, with great justice, that "to him none seemed to have any claim to learning, who were ignorant concerning the affairs of their own country."

country *.” And the early history of any country, the foundation upon which the rest stands, should above all be carefully examined, as the whole edifice depends upon it; for, as an eminent historian † remarks, “how is it possible that, while the beginnings are false, the rest should prove true?”

Such an examination requires great labour; but to him who undertakes it with due love of the subject, the labour is its own reward, *labor ipse voluptas*. Not only so, but the labour renders the subject easy and familiar after a certain progress ‡; so that, from variety of information, the enquirer is enabled to explain it fully, and to place it in the clearest point of view. Yet this labour is very painful at first, however great the

* Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum. *Cicero*. Mihi quidem nulli eruditi videntur quibus nostra ignota sunt. *Idem de Fin.* Add *Cassiodorus, Var. Orat. VII.* “Perdus ac pernox, patrum memorias revolve: scrutare gentis tuæ cunabula: res gestas et annalium monumenta observa. Turpe enim est in patria sua peregrinum agere.” This last sentence is also from *Cicero*, who says, “peregrinari in patria turpe est.”

† Polyb. lib. 3.

‡ ——— Cui LECTA POTENTER erit res,
Nec facundia deseret unquam, nec lucidus ordo.

Hor.

love

love of the subject may be ; and it is no wonder that, in the words of Thucydides*, “ among most men, even the investigation of truth is impatient of labour ; so that they rather have recourse to what is next at hand.” But in subjects of this kind, the greatest labour is absolutely necessary ; and a superficial book may be ever regarded as a false one. A thousand grains of gold must be collected, and formed into one ingot ; a thousand little facts must be conjoined ; a thousand falsehoods exploded. No theory can be admitted ; nor is it even allowed to argue from one fact to another. The circumstances are so minute, and various, that great literary experience is required to guard against mistakes. *Il faut etre extremement au fait de ces matieres pour ne s’y point tromper*, says a learned writer on these subjects †, all whose care could not however save him from radical errors. Those points which, in theory, have most verisimilitude, will upon laborious examination of the facts, prove to be entirely false ; and those which seemed false in theory, will prove true in fact.

The Abbé Raynal observes that after the revival of letters we began with *Eruditi*,

* Lib. i.

† Pelloutier, Hist. des Celtes, I. 30.

next we had Poets, then Orators, then Metaphysicians, then Geometricians. If it were allowed, adds he, to hazard a prediction, I would announce that our minds will speedily be turned to history; a vast career, and in which philosophy has hardly yet set a foot. This prediction is daily fulfilling in all countries: and, beside other happy effects, is attended by this, that it has contributed to revive a genuine and dignified erudition, very different from the trifling sort at first in vogue. For it being impossible to throw philosophy into the history of any country, without carefully exploring the facts of that history; and as impossible to know these facts without studying them in original authors; a great degree of erudition has become necessary to this philosophy: and erudition and philosophy being thus conjoined, have increased the mental wealth of mankind to a great degree. The study of the Greek and Roman writers has become more manly and important; and that of the authors of the middle ages, at first too much neglected, gains ground every day. Even a degree of what was called pedantry, by the pretended *beaux esprits*, has become admissible in treating ancient history; because all see that it is better to shew too much learning upon such subjects,

jects, than too little. Indeed tho pedantry be contemptible, because uselefs, in natural and moral philosophy, poetry, and other departments of genius, and science; yet in history it is even laudable, if it be not digressive. For history resting entirely on facts, and authorities, it must have many references and quotations; which, in any other science, form the essence of pedantic erudition.

These remarks are especially inserted for the use of my countrymen, who, as they can very seldom be accused of pedantry themselves, are very apt to accuse others of it. A book written in the manner of the Italian, French, German, and Scandinavian antiquaries, may perhaps startle them, not less by the perpetual quotations and references, than by the apparent novelty, but real antiquity of the facts developed. They may perhaps say that the author has come after many men of learning in this tract; and yet modestly pretends to prove them all in the wrong, even in the most essential points of early Scottish history. This foreseen criticism must be warded off (*non ut arguerem, sed ne arguerer*) by a few remarks; which, as they are of some delicacy, are

are written with deference, and it is hoped will be received with candour by every Scotishman, who, with the author, desires to be the FRIEND, and not the *flatterer*, of his country.

In all ages, since the invention of letters, two opposite literary paths have conducted to the temple of fame; the path of GENIUS, and that of ERUDITION. They refer to the two faculties of the mind, Imagination and Memory; as for Judgment, the third, it is a judge, and not an agent; and must direct the efforts of the two others. These qualities in a lesser degree, bear the names of *Ingenuity* and *Learning*. Every one, who has looked into literary history, must know that Erudition, or even Learning, is perhaps a surer path to fame, than Genius or Ingenuity; inasmuch as innumerable ancient works of mere learning have reached our times *, whereas not one of mere genius has had that fortune. For Homer, Pindar, and the other famous poets, were all men as remarkable for learning as for genius; which qualities conjoined alone stamp perfection on a work. Homer's learning arose from tra-

* Gellius, Macrobius, Clemens Alex. Athenæus, Photius, Suidas, &c. &c. &c.

P R E F A C E.

velling, and conversation; as Shakspeare's from books in his own language. Of all the ancient poets, that is of those writers whose essential form is genius, it is impossible to point out one who was not profoundly learned; if we only except Anacreon, whose remains are so few, that we cannot judge of his learning from them. It is indeed as impossible to be a great writer without learning, as to be wealthy without property, or to unite any other contradiction in terms. Nay in modern times men of vast erudition, and men of vast genius, have generally been contemporary in the same country; as Shakspeare and Saville, Milton and Selden, in England; Corneille and Salmasius in France; Tasso and Sigonius in Italy; Cervantes and Aldrete in Spain, &c.

Now by a misfortune, chiefly arising from the remote situation of the country, while Scotland has produced many ingenious writers, it is impossible to condescend upon one, who (not to mention ERUDITION), can even bear the appellation of *learned*, as strictly understood in more favoured countries. To write elegant Latin, for which our Scottish authors of the two last centuries were famous, is a quality of ingenuity; and is so far from

from belonging to learning, that it is inimical to it; for the time, instead of being occupied in reading books, is employed in studying a language, a matter radically different. This we may judge of from facts; for Poland, a country of ten times more population than Scotland, has not produced one learned writer, tho the Latin histories of Dlugoss, Cromer, and Kobiersicky, are thought to vye with Livy, and Grotius has preferred Casimir to Horace.

This neglect of learning in Scotland, as it is the real and only cause of the ruin of our ancient history, deserves especially to be considered here; and every true patriot would wish, if possible to remove it. The writings of Volufenus or Wilson, Buchanan, and Barclay, are justly celebrated for elegance and ingenuity: but if we were to condescend on any learned books, written by Scotchmen, it is believed the only ones that could possibly be named, are Dempster's notes on Rosinus, and his *Etruria Regalis*, and Blackwell's Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*. Yet even these would

* The neglect of Greek learning is chiefly to be regreted in Scotland; and it is a pity that the plan
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would in Italy, France, or Germany, stand only among the books of common learning; and are so far from being works of erudition, that, compared to those of eruditi of the first class, the Sigonii, Salmasii, Vossii, Grotii, Huetii, Scaligeri, they are but as drops of water to the ocean. Nor can one help expressing a wish that even that kind of erudition, which is now rather disregarded, (tho the fame of those eminent in it will last as long as books are read), had been exerted in Scotland in its period, as well as in other countries: for the passage from erudition to science is safe and easy; while he who begins with science begins to build without materials.

Sir Isaac Newton being asked by what singular faculty he could make such great discoveries, answered, with all the modesty of genius, that he pretended to no faculties, but what were common; and that the only

of Erasmus is not followed, and the Greek taught before the Latin in all countries. Five or six years for Latin, and one for Greek is the common plan in Scottish schools. The reverse would be exactly right. There is an originality in the Greek writers which forms and nurtures genius; the Latin only foster imitation. A divine, or a physician, ought to be grounded in Greek. A lawyer requires Latin, for there is not one Greek writer on law.

source

source of his discoveries was PATIENT THINKING. This in fact will ever be the chief source of philosophical discoveries; and the only source of literary discoveries is PATIENT READING. But the *fervidum ingenium Scotorum*, as one of our own writers calls it, is so remarkable that almost every battle we anciently fought against the English was lost by impatience, from the battle of the Standard to the battle of Dunbar. This chief feature of the national character is observable even in trifles, for in England two peasants will fight coolly, and then shake hands, while in Scotland such combats are always committed in grievous passion. In literature and philosophy the same impatience prevails; and the consequence is that we have not only never produced any man of erudition, but we have also had no INVENTOR, no man who has opened up a new path in science. We cannot boast like Denmark of a Tycho Brahe, nor like Sweden of a Linnæus, nor like Poland of a Copernicus*. By the same impatience of thought, and of labour, our writers of every class, tho often ingenious and elegant in a su-

* Napier has much merit, but cannot stand in the rank of great inventors. He is only an useful abbreviator of a particular branch of the mathematics.

preme degree, have never yet attained the characters of great or sublime. We have no Bacon, no Newton, no Shakspeare, no Milton.

These remarks are given not to upbraid, but to admonish, and to serve. Remedies can never be found, till the disease be condescended on: and it is no small part of the cure to know where the disease lyes. Far less are they obtruded from a dictatorial spirit; but they are humbly submitted to our literati of Scotland, among whom there are at present many whose abilities would do honour to any country; and who more than compensate for any defect of learning, by superior good sense, elegant perspicuity, and industrious use of those materials which are necessary for the subjects of which they treat. To such the author considers himself as only a labourer, who is clearing away rubbish, and bringing materials; and who may advise so far as concerns his own province.

— — — fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exfors ipsa secandi.

On

On considering the causes of the neglect of learning in Scotland, they appear to be three. 1. Remote situation. 2. Want of wealth. 3. Want of public libraries. The distance of Scotland from Italy, France, and Germany, the most learned countries of Europe, is a great disadvantage in point of literary intercourse, and emulation. Denmark and Sweden, from their proximity to Germany, have produced many writers of far greater learning than Scotland has; a country pent up in a remote corner of an island, and to which few foreign books come, except the most light and superficial, which float on the breath of popular fame. Want of wealth (the consequence of want of industry) is a grand cause; but which will be remedied as industry increases. They who have no money to buy books, cannot have them; and it is observable that all the chief Eruditi, of every country and age, have been men of large property, and who could afford to purchase libraries. The only remedy for this is the institution of public libraries, containing books of high character for learning and utility, tho never to be found in circulating libraries, where indeed they cannot be expected, as very few read them. The institution of a public library,
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of the genuine kind, such as are common in Italy, France, and Germany, as they were in ancient Greece and Rome, tho totally unknown in Britain, would do any patriot more honour, and would serve his country more, than the foundation of an university. In few countries are youth more curious in literature, than in Scotland; but they want opportunities and choice. The study of Bibliography, now carried to a great height in most countries, may indeed be pointed out as necessary even to our best authors, who, for want of it, often quote the worst writers upon subjects. When books are so numerous, the knowlege of the best in each class becomes necessary,

Such having been the state of learning in Scotland, it is no wonder that in antiquities, a subject absolutely dependant upon much reading, this defect should become the most apparent. Ingenious conjecture, and elegant manner, can never have any effect in illustrating antiquities, the very province of patient industry. The more ingenious an author is in such matters, he will only be the more in the wrong*. The exclama-

* “ We no longer study;” says Rousseau, “ we no longer observe: we dream: and the dreams of some bad nights are given us gravely for philosophy.”

tion of Montesquieu, in his letters, *Vous etes tous des charlatans, Messieurs les Antiquaires!* may be applied to those of Scotland, with peculiar justice. The weakest writers in the country have generally assumed this province, which became them as well as if a mule should pretend to carry the tower of an elephant: while the best seem to despise the name and province of an antiquary, forgetful of the examples of Cato, Varro, Cæsar*, in ancient times, and of Luther, Melancthon, Spelman, Selden, Du Cange, Leibnitz, Muratori, and many others, confessedly men of great talents, in modern. Montesquieu has examined the history of the two first races of France, preceding the tenth century, with an antiquarian care, which a Scottish writer of talents might think beneath him. *Homine imperito nihil est injustius*: this contempt, if real, is lamentable; as no science can be studied where it is despised. But, as Lord Bacon observes in his Essays, “Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise, or make light of, as

* Cato's work on Roman origins is quoted by Dionysius Hal. Varro is well known. Julius Cæsar wrote *De vocum Mutatione*, &c. Melancthon and Luther's works on German antiquities may be found in the first volume of the Collection by Schardius, Basil. 1574, fol.

impertinent, or curious; and so would have their ignorance seem judgment." The uncertainty of antiquities is common to all human sciences; and strikes those the most who are the least versed in them, as objects at a distance become indistinct. Experience, and long examination of a subject, remove many uncertainties. But writers are apt to exhaust all their faith upon the object of their particular study, or favour; to believe perhaps that they know all the motives of human action in modern times, while they will not believe the actions themselves beyond a certain epoch. To him who looks with an equal eye upon science, the knowledge of a few ancient events, duly authenticated by ancient evidence, becomes at least as credible, as that of the numerous modern events, with all their motives, causes, and circumstances, detailed by modern omniscient historians, sometimes not even versed in the language of the country, whose history they relate. To him whose belief depends upon his reason, the truth of ancient and of modern history will appear much the same; or he may be inclined to think the death of such an ancient king, in such a year, as credible at least as that such a modern event happened, occasioned by such causes, and attended

attended by such circumstances, as a modern historian well knows, tho quite unknown to the actors themselves.

The want of patience and industry in our Scottish antiquists, has only been equalled by their puerile prejudices, and contempt of truth. The author of this work thought it his duty to read them all repeatedly; an attention which, excepting one or two, they did not deserve. Innes, in particular, is a valuable writer; but to most of the others may be applied the French proverb, *De fol juge bref sentence*; or the maxim of Rochefoucault, *Quand un opiniatre a commencé à contester quelque chose, son esprit se ferme à tout ce qui peut l'éclaircir. La contestation l'irrite, quelque juste qu'elle soit; et il semble qu'il ait peur de trouver la vérité.* Neglecting those objects which do real credit to their country, they have loaded her with extraneous ornaments, till, like the Tarpeian virgin, she dies under the false honours. Their inexperience in such subjects has led them into trains of reasoning never used in antiquarian matters; and they have what may be called *points of honour of Scotland*, quite unknown in more enlightened countries. Yet to these mock points of honour

they will sacrifice the most evident truth, having, as lord Bacon phrases, “an unconquerable appetite for falsehood and fable*.” Some of them, as Maitland in particular, have even sat down to the sacred task of history, with all these prejudices around them; but in the words of D'Alembert, *Ils écrivent l'Histoire, comme la plupart des hommes la lisent, pour n'être pas obligés de penser; et se font ainsi auteurs à peu de frais.*

Quand nous fermons nos yeux à la clarté,
Pourquoi crier contre l'obscurité?

Richardet.

Want of learning, which opens and enlarges the mind, is no doubt one great cause of these odd prejudices; for, as an able writer † observes, “The understanding is, among the illiterate, obsequious to pas-

* Il suffit de faire un retour sur son propre cœur, d'examiner avec quelle confiance on s'abandonne aux absurdités, au milieu desquelles on est né; combien il en coûte à la raison pour déranger les habitudes qu'on a contractées. Quel doit donc être le sort des nations entières, qui sont emportées rapidement par le préjugé général, qui les gouverne; et qui leur tient lieu de raison, de sagesse, et de réflexion? *Mably de l'étude de l'Hist.* p. 141.

† Home Lord Kaims, *Sketches of the History of Man*, III. 218. 8vo. edit.

tion

sion and prepossession : and among them the imagination acts without controul, forming conclusions often no better than mere dreams." The reader will excuse these quotations, as they not only express the sentiments in a manner not to be improved, but serve to protect an author in the invidious and painful office of finding faults.

Even in the strongest and most improved minds, prejudice has too much sway ; for it is impossible to examine every thing. Hence it is not surprizing to find men of the greatest talents infected with the contagion of national prejudices. Voltaire has justly observed on this subject, that, " Mankind are fonder of appearing to know, than of seeking after knowlege ; and when error has gotten the mastery of our minds, during our tender age, we are at no pains to shake off its yoke, but rather strive to subject ourselves more to it. Hence it comes that so many men of real discernment and genius are so frequently under the dominion of popular errors*." We need not therefore be surprized to see popular prejudices, even in the best Scottish writers ; for, as has been

* Hist. Gen.

remarked, we are reformed from popery, but not from Hector Boethius*.

The effects of ignorant prejudices have been heightened to a surprizing degree, among our Scottish antiquists, by the spirit of controversy, so inimical to truth. The English and Irish writers, who first began to detect the errors into which we had fallen, and to shew the fallibility of Hector Boethius, were regarded as enemies of the honour of Scotland; which, if we may credit our antiquists, stands upon falsehoods only. For these writers, instead of applauding the superior learning of an Usher and a Stillingfleet, provided a Sir George Mackenzie, king's advocate for Scotland, to answer them; and whose chief argument was, that it was high treason to doubt of the antiquity of the royal race of Scotland†! This convincing proof of our antiquities was applauded; and the author, instead of being sent to bedlam, was regarded as a zealous friend of his country. This was the more remarkable, as Sir George pretended to be a Stoic philosopher; but it is observable that,

* Dalrymple, Lord Hailes in his Annals of Scotland.

† Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland.

from Sir George to Lord Kaims, no Scottish philosopher has extended his philosophy to Scotland; for which the reason may be found in the above observation of Voltaire. When such were the beginnings of the dispute with the English and Irish antiquaries, it is no wonder that the obstinacy and absurdity of our writers increased in the progress of the debate. They were so ignorant as not even to know that it is impossible to confute ancient authorities, upon no authorities at all; that, as no historian had arisen in Scotland preceding Fordun, who is quite a modern, it was ridiculous to speak of opposing our writers to the English and Irish; that all other countries allowed the authorities of neighbouring nations concerning their affairs; and that, if we gave way to conjecture and foolish ingenuity, there was an end of all history. At the same time, it is much to be regretted, that the detection of our own errors did not, as in Denmark and Sweden, arise among ourselves; but this must be imputed to our want of men of learning. The English and Irish antiquaries were far from being free of prejudice and enmity on their part: and it is not surprizing that the truth became obnoxious to our warm writers. At length Innes, our own

countryman, taking the true side, we have been gradually finding that truth is more for the honour of Scotland than falsehood. But our antiquists, driven from their mock authorities, have been forced to another absurdity; and to the genuine ancient authorities they oppose *opinions*! This phænomenon in literature is only owing to the little learning we had gradually becoming less; for, as Lord Kaims observes*, “There cannot be opinion and science of the same thing at the same time.” Opinion is the last refuge of ignorance and prejudice; and he who knows nothing of a subject can always give an opinion. The Spanish poet who was told of the certainty of the mathematics, answered, “It may be so, but in my opinion they are quite fallacious.”

No axiom can be more certain than, that it is impossible for falsehood to honour a country, or to serve it. The author of nature, who has connected vital heat with the light of the sun, has connected the utility and glory of society with truth. A sceptic may say that the truth is not to be known; and to him it shall only be answered, that history is a science, and must, like other sci-

* Sketches, III. 394.

ences, have rules peculiar to it: of which the most essential is, that, when conformable to ancient authorities, it is to be regarded as true; and, when not, as false. This is the grand, and only, distinction between history and romance. Falsehood is so far from honouring, or serving, any country, that it is disgraceful, and prejudicial, in a supreme degree. In history it makes even the true parts suspected; so that a substance is lost by grasping at a shadow: and a train of writers supporting it in a nation will, in course of time, taint even the character of that nation, and all the individuals of it; an effect so ruinous, that he who writes on the history of his country, ought to consult conscience, as well as science. If he indulges the *insanos oculos et gaudia vana*, at the expence of plain truth; instead of being the friend of his country, he is in effect the worst enemy possible. Like a base flatterer his praise poisons, his deceit ruins.

As prejudice is irrational, so the honours it invents are irrational. The honour of a nation depends on its arms and arts, on its industry, on the merit of its natives, and on the character it bears among its neighbours: which last can never be so effectually injured
as

as by false history. But the Scottish antiquists rashly assume the most ludicrous topics, as foundations of national honour; forgetting Mr. Hume's remark that, "There is not a more effectual method of betraying a cause, than to lay the stress of the argument on a wrong place; and by disputing an untenable post, insure the adversaries to success and victory." Thus we have seen the antiquity of our royal line, and the old league with France, maintained as the points of national honour. A Greek or Roman would hardly have boasted how long they had submitted to one line of kings; or have dreamed that their nation could possibly acquire any honour from another. It is likely that the poems of Ossian, or an old shoe of St. Margaret, may form our next points of honour; and that it may be long before our antiquists discover, that our honour is very safe, if they would let it alone. A great nation never speaks of its honour, because it despises even the suspicion of its needing a defence: but, as Algarotti remarks*, *Gli scoli, o vogliam dir coloro che sono dotti per meta, veggono ancora le cose per meta; e ne formano i piu manchevoli e distorti giudizi.*

* Pensieri diversi.

In history it is not allowable for any writer to be an advocate. He ought to be a judge. To gain a cause against truth, by dint of eloquence and art, is common; but in the court of history it is execrable. It is inconceivable that so many writers, on such subjects, should seem to think that their business is not to find the truth, but to defend one opinion against another. Hence we find artful elocution, where we should have nothing but simple veracity.

The author, conscious that he has no opinions to defend, but that he has embraced what, to his best judgment and examination, appeared to be the truth, on whatever side he found it, has employed no art to win the reader to his sentiments. On the contrary, his manner is generally so dry, and sometimes so severe, that if the reader finds no conviction in the authorities and arguments, he will never be subdued by the pomp of declamation, or allured by the arts of eloquence. If he be convinced, he is convinced by the force of truth only. In perhaps a dozen passages of this long work, the reader may, as is not unlikely, even recoil at the rigour, with which some former writers and opinions are treated. Of such passages the
author

author is as sensible as the reader : but as he knows and feels their justice, he has reviewed them often without either deletion or mitigation. As he always wishes to avoid giving offence, so he never fears to give it, when truth directs the weapon. Indignation belongs to virtue, and to science also: and is to be exerted against falsehood and prejudice, as well as against vice. Before the reader can properly judge of these passages, he must read the authors against whom they are directed. If he finds them modest and veracious, let the blame fall on the unjust anger of the present writer : but if they be found to be dealers in direct falsehoods, and replete with impudent railing against the truth, let it be considered if such have an exclusive privilege of being angry. The author has been forced, now and then, to meet them on their own ground; and deserves pity, rather than blame, for that necessity : which has indeed disgusted him so far, that he has resolved to abandon the controversial style for ever, and to content himself, in future, in exploring and vindicating the truth, without arraigning its enemies. But nothing has obscured the subject of the present work more than the railing, pride, anger, and false assertions of some former writers on it. “ Now in such a case,

a case, even a wise and modest man may assume airs too; and repel insolence with its own weapons. There is a time, as Solomon the wisest of men teaches us, when ‘a fool should be answered according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit;’ and lest others too easily yield up their faith and reason to his imperious dictates*.” The rule of Polybius is admirable; “They who in history relate falsehoods from ignorance, deserve pardon and benevolent correction: but they who designedly commit falsehoods, are to be condemned without mercy.†”

This work is however far less employed in demolishing falsehood, than in establishing truth. To prove the fallacy of the received history of Scotland, preceding the year 1056, would have been an easy task by itself; but to find the true history of that period was difficult. Indolence might easily have sat down with the impression, that, as the received history was false, it was impossible to find the true; and so Scotland might have passed without any history at all, pre-

* Watts’s Improvement of the Mind.

† Lib. xii. A remark of Voltaire is also applicable: “Il y a des erreurs qu’il faut réfuter sérieusement; des absurdités dont il faut rire; et des faussetés qu’il faut repousser avec force.”

ceding the year 1056; tho every other country can begin its history at the time it was converted to christianity, and Scotland was in the fifth and sixth centuries. Nothing indeed could be more absurd, than to suppose that a country adjacent to England, and near Ireland, countries that produced many men of letters in the middle ages, should have no history till the eleventh century; when even Iceland begins in the ninth. Nothing more absurd than to suppose that a country, which has historical remains of the eleventh century itself, containing brief abstracts of its history preceding that time, should have no history but from the eleventh century. The English and Irish historians, and our own fragments published by Innes, indeed amply confute received notions; so that prejudice, as well as indolence, may conspire in this disgraceful abbreviation of our history. Our antiquists thus resemble the ostrich: they hide their heads, and think nobody sees them. But the fact is, as the reader will find fully displayed in this work, that the indolence is contemptible, and the prejudice irrational: for it so happens that the real history of Scotland is far more honourable and interesting, than the fabricated scheme now followed is; even
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supposing, for a moment, the later to be true. Had the real history of the country been disgraceful to the highest degree, still it ought to have been given with the most scrupulous faith ; as Rome does not conceal her descent from banditti. But when the real history is far more interesting, as well as more honourable, than the false, we must from this instance alone conclude that prejudice perverts every power of judgment ; or that the fact is that indolent ignorance prevents the exertion of judgment, by withholding the materials.

Deh che non puo l' eredita comune,

L' ignoranza, nel petto de' mortali !

The reader may perhaps find some matters in this work, which may contradict his prejudices ; but if he will suspend his judgment till he has perused the whole, he will find that, by dint of mere industry, for every forged medal which is withdrawn from the cabinet of Scottish history, two real ones are put in. An historian ought to belong to no country ; and in this work the author has laboured to forget that he is a Scotishman, tho a name he glories in ; so that it is hoped no part of this work can fear the accusation of prejudice, when examined by a native of any country

country in Europe. But far less is he prejudiced against his country; and the freedom with which he treats the history of all surrounding kingdoms, may warrant him from any such imputation. It was said of Thucydides, that from his history it could not be known whether he belonged to Athens or Sparta; and it is hoped the national bias of this work is not very strong. The vulgar passion for one's country is a mere modification of self-love; but the real patriot wishes to promote the genuine well-fare of his country, not to feed his own little vanity; and that well-fare is best promoted by pointing out faults that they may be amended. To praise one's country is to praise one's self; and Europe is now so civilized, that the voice of strangers is the surest estimate of a country's fame.

One grand cause of the neglect of Scottish history is the absurd idea, which many among us have, of the nature of the original historians of other countries. The little chronicles, published by Innes, are as full as several other nations can boast of for their earliest history. Even Spain has only the chronicles of Isidorus, and John of Bicclair; which are shorter and not larger than ours.

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The original chronicles of Denmark are exactly of the same brief kind, as may be seen in the first volume of Langebek's Collection. But our writers seem ludicrously to expect that Scotland should vye with Italy, France, Germany, or England, in early historians. Such ignorance is only excusable in a people shut up in a corner of an island; and incapable of comparing themselves with others. Ignorance always begets pride: but Denmark might as well compare herself with Germany; or Swizzerland with Italy; as Scotland with England. In the grand commonwealth of Europe it is now perfectly understood that Scotland is the poorest state, and England one of the richest. Denmark and Sweden have, each of them, double the wealth, power, and population, that Scotland has, or ever had. Even Norway is remarkable for her conquests, and colonies, celebrated all over Europe; while Scotland is only remarkable for defensive war. But our writers absurdly expect advantages, which nature has denied; as if flattery could make a mountainous country populous, and fertile; or turn a remote corner round to the centre of civilization! As they see no country but England, they facetiously suppose that, because England has many ancient

VOL. I. c writers,

writers, Scotland must also have had, tho now lost. Hence the story of chronicles destroyed by Edward I. tho it ought first to have been proved that such chronicles ever existed *. Certain it is that, if they had, their memory could not have perished with them ; but as not one can be condescended on, there is reason to infer that they did not exist. And in fact the pieces published by Innes, written in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the Chronicle of Melrose in the thirteenth, present a series of original history, equal to any that could reasonably be expected, for a country so remote, and so lately civilized. Our writers would do well to look into the original historians of other nations. They will find that Ireland has only Tighernach, who wrote in 1088 : Denmark only such brief chronicles as ours, prior to that miracle, Saxo Grammaticus, a classic writer in 1180 : Sweden no native writer, till the fourteenth century, when a chronicle in rime, like our Winton's, was written : Norway the brief chro-

* This opinion however is as old as the fifteenth century. See Innes, p. 555. But it only arose from national enmity, and is confutable from the lists of the writings which Edward seized being preserved in the Tower, and published by Ayloffe, &c.

nicle of Theodoric the monk, written about 1178. Bohemia has only Cosmas of Prague, 1126: Prussia, Helmoldus 1180: Poland, Kadlubko 1223: and the earliest historian of Russia is Nestor, 1115. Nay some more southern countries have as few, and as late historians. The Low Countries, that garden of Europe, can boast of none till the 15th century. Spain has, after Isidorus and John of Bicclair, in the 7th century, only the chronicles of the four bishops written in the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, and published by Sandoval at Pampelona, 1634, folio. Roderic of Toledo, the first Spanish general historian, wrote in 1243*. On a fair comparison Scotland has at least as many historical pieces extant, as fall to her share: and if Edward I. adopted the new and wild scheme of destroying her chronicles, he must have done it to little purpose.

But a peculiar glory which distinguishes the history of Scotland, from that of other northern kingdoms, is that the earliest period of it stands on Greek and Roman authorities. Another advantage is that the

* Of the original historians of all nations, it must be confessed that Fordun is by far the most prolix, and the weakest in every view.

next period is confirmed by the testimonies of English and Irish writers. Among the later Adomnan has given us the life of St. Columba, the chief apostle of North Britain, written about the year 680; one of the most curious monuments of the literature of that age. It is certainly the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but even thro the whole middle ages. The lives of saints, formerly only considered in a religious view, now begin to be regarded in an historical light, by most countries, whether papist or protestant. Du Chesne, in his Collection of French Historians, gave extracts of the old lives of saints; an example followed in Bouquet's late celebrated work of the same kind. Langebek, in his Collection of Danish Historians, follows the same plan; and the life of St. Amsgar, 820, is to Scandinavia, what that of St. Columba is to Scotland. Our antiquists, with all the pride of ignorance, may perhaps affect to despise monuments which, historically considered, have received the sanction of Montesquieu and Gibbon. But the falsehood of the miracles no more affects the historical, and topographic parts, than the miracles of Livy and Tacitus discredit their history. Not to insist
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on a matter now so well known to the learned, as the value of these old lives, in the history of the middle ages, it shall be further observed, that many of them are well written; and are curious monuments, not only of the literature, but of the manners of the times. Sulpitius Severus set the example of them in his life of St. Martin, written in the fifth century: and, for five or six centuries, his example was followed in all countries by the most able writers of each age. But after that period, instead of cotemporary writers of only one life, compilers began to appear, who altered the old writings to their fancy, and produced monstrous romances; as the Golden Legend, written in the thirteenth century, and others of that stamp. Romances being then the fashion, saints and knights-errant went hand in hand thro the regions of absurdity. As literature revived, both fell together. But the genuine old lives of saints began to be recovered in a pious view; and Mombricius in 1480 set the first example of a legitimate collection of this kind followed by Lippomanus and by Surius about 1560; and in the next century by the famous Bollandists*, whose work from 1643

* So called because Bollandus began this great collection, which was continued by Henschenius, Papebroch, Sollerius, Cuper, Hilting, and many others.

to 1786 fills fifty folio volumes; and still the faints of November and December are wanting, which will take ten volumes more.

In digesting this work, the author has been careful to admit no authority, or argument, but such as would be allowed valid, if applied to the history of any country whatever. Yet to some the novelty, which it contains, may appear suspicious. To such it can only be answered that, if the original authorities, and real history, of any country have been neglected for late fables, the truth which is very old, must appear very new, when revived. The truth is always old, tho the discovery may be new. Montesquieu observes, when illustrating French antiquities, *Je sais bien que je dis ici des choses nouvelles : mais, si elles sont vraies, elles sont tres anciennes.* As Ireland's claim to the *Scotia* and *Scoti*, preceding the eleventh century, has been long allowed and established among the literati of all countries; and Scotland must have had some name, and some inhabitants, before that period, it became necessary to discover what they were. Our writers seemed to shrink from the enquiry; none of them, in the words of Homer,

—— ΠΥΚΙΝΗΝ ηγήνετο βουλὴν.

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The author has attempted to settle this affair ; and to redeem the early history of his country from total annihilation. Regret at his own ignorance in the matter*, was indeed one great spur to the design. Truth may appear singular, to those who are accustomed to falsehood. But, as a more contemptible character cannot exist, than his who would sacrifice truth and science to a silly love of singularity ; so no man ought to fear the charge of singularity, when asserting the cause of truth. Mankind can never be served with impunity ; and the charge of singularity has at first lain against every man, who has advanced the progress of any

* His ignorance was such that, in the Dissertations prefixed to Select Scottish Ballads, written 1776, and first printed at London 1781, he rather asserts the authenticity of Ossian. And in the Essay on the Origin of Scottish Poetry, prefixed to Ancient Scottish Poems from the Maitland MS. written 1784, published 1786, there are several opinions which a full and complete examination, of all the evidences of early Scottish History, has forced him to condemn in the present work. But the reader, upon recourse to these former productions, will acquit the author of prejudice ; and see the truth, which is that he has conquered his own prejudice. He hopes he may say with Baldus, “ Ignorantiæ inimicus alienæ, INIMICISSIMUS SUÆ, paratus corrigi a quocunque, et correctiones patiens libenti et humili animo, quia ignorare non est vitium, sed natura.”

science. Torfæus was persecuted by his contemporaries for reforming the fables of Saxo, who had taken kings of Jutland, Sweden, Russia, for Danish sovereigns. In the next generation prejudice, envy, and malice were chained to his tomb; and the voice of fame followed the light of truth.

Omnia subsident meliori pervia causæ.

Before this preface be closed the reader must be informed, that it is the author's intention, to give a regular history of Scotland from the earliest accounts till the reign of Mary, in two volumes, quarto, divided into forty books. But as he wished to exert the utmost care in this work, he was induced to publish this Enquiry into the obscure and controverted period of Scottish history, in the first place, that he might hear the opinion of the learned, and correct his mistakes before they passed into a more solemn work. As the nature of history rejects controversy, and implies a dignified narration of events, not as told in different ways, but as they really happened to the best of the historian's examination, it seemed also necessary, by a previous work, to remove all occasion of controversy from the history itself; as the reader by one reference to this work, may examine
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the whole reasons for the historical narration at his leisure, if he sees fit. This proposed history will be a work of years; and in the mean time the author will be happy to attend to any strictures on the present work; and either to confirm his sentiments, where he may still think them just, or to retract them where erroneous. He knows he has still much to learn; and is resolved never to lock up the little casket of his knowledge, but to keep it open for fresh accessions from all quarters.

The reader is intreated to pardon a verbal remark, before proceeding to the work. He will find in it the people called *Picti* by the Romans, always denominated *Piks*, and not *Picts* as usual. Reasons for this little change were, that the Latin term *Picti*, too nearly translated *Picts*, has a double meaning, which has given rise to a great error; to wit that the name of this people is not indigenal, but a mere Latin epithet, from their painting themselves. Whereas it is merely an indigenal name, *Pihtar*, Latinized. The Saxon writers call them *Pihtas*, *Pyhtas*, *Pehtas*, *Peobtas*; the old Scottish, and the people of Scotland, to this day, *Pihts* or *Pehts*. The *ht* being harsh, the Romans gave for it *ct*,
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the Greeks more anciently *k**; as the Norwegians term the country, whence they apparently passed to Scotland, *Pika*. And the Latin name has no more a Latin meaning, than *Galli* means cocks, or *Germani* brothers german. To mark the name as indigenal, and foreign to the Latin language, it was thought best to write it *Piks*; a change which it is hoped the reader will excuse, if not approve. The name *Piæts* is in fact quite a modern term, not much above a century old; and the fault lies with those who introduced this new and improper way of spelling, and not with the author, who only softens the term used even in the sixteenth century, namely *Pihts*. In Icelandic, the old language of Scandinavia, whence this people came, the singular is *Piki*, a Pik, the plural *Pikir* *Piks*; as *Griki* is a Greek, *Grikir* Greeks.

The Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths, which was published near two years ago, was originally intended as part of this work, as the reader will find on looking into it. But as many readers may not perhaps chuse to begin their

* See Dissertation annexed; and Part III. ch. iii. &c. of this work.

perusal of this publication, from such remote periods; tho it be impossible duly to understand the early population of Scotland, without knowing the state of nations on the continent, at the time; that Dissertation is annexed to the second volume. It is left to the reader, either to begin with that Dissertation, or to peruse it after his curiosity may have been excited, by the references, which point out its connexion with our own history.

This preface ought to be closed with acknowledgements to many literati of different countries, to whom the author is obliged for articles of information. But the articles were sometimes of necessity so minute, and the correspondence so various, that to enumerate them all might appear ostentation, and omisions seem ingratitude. General thanks must therefor suffice; except to one, whose politeness was altogether singular, and can never be too warmly acknowledged. M. VAN PRAET of the King's Library at Paris, with his own hand copied, and collated with Innes's Appendix, the parts of the remarkable manuscript N^o 4126, which relate to Scotland, and which the reader will find in the Appendix to this first volume. For this laborious task he would accept of no gratification, but only desired that this work should be given to that truly Royal Library.

INTRODUCTION.

Containing a succinct view of what has been
done in Scottish Antiquities.

TILL the beginning of this century the study of antiquities, far from making any progress in Scotland, was hardly known in that country. Italy, Spain, France, Germany, had produced eminent antiquaries in the sixteenth century : and in the next, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, could boast of several. Remote situation, and the consequent want of emulation ; penury, and the consequent want of books and learned leisure ; were causes that long checked the birth and growth of this,
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as well as of the other sciences, in Scotland. The strange spirit of fanaticism, which in the seventeenth century pervaded the country, was another grand cause of the neglect of literature; for every study, not relating to religion, was regarded as superfluous, if not profane: but this secondary cause also originated from penury, as they who are miserable in this life naturally turn all their views to another; and it will be difficult to name a happy and flourishing country, in which fanaticism makes any progress. England was in the horrors of civil war, before fanaticism prevailed; and the most fanatic religion, the Mahometan, originated in the deserts of Arabia. Spain, at present one of the poorest countries, is also one of the most fanatic. It seems certain that the chief fountain of the great deficiency in Scottish literature, during the last century, proceeded from the religious ferment, which pervaded all ranks, and induced a contempt and neglect of every art and science.

Nevertheless two men arose who paid some attention to the antiquities of their country *. The first was Sir ROBERT GORDON

* In the sixteenth century Major, Boyce, Lesly, and Buchanan, are well known; Lluyd, a Welchman, attacked

DON of Straloch, who, about the year 1650, wrote some scraps on our antiquities, preserved in the noble *Atlas Scotiæ*, begun at the expence of Sir JOHN SCOTT of Scots Tarvet, Director of the Chancery, and published by Bleau at Amsterdam. There is also a curious letter on our historians, written by Sir R. Gordon to David Buchanan, 1649, often quoted by Nicolson, in his *Scottish Historical Library*; and published by Hearne in the *Prolegomena* to Leland's *Collectanea*. From this letter it appears that Gordon had a due contempt for the fables of Boyce and Buchanan, then generally received among

tacked Boyce's fables, and Camden gave his short description of Scotland. But the history of the Abbots of Kinlofs by Ferrerius remains unpublished.

In the next, or seventeenth century, several treatises on Scottish antiquities were written by Drummond, Crawford, David Buchanan, David Hume, Sir James Balfour, Sir Robert Sibbald, &c. and tho they all follow the fabulous scheme of our history, a publication of the best would be acceptable. Dempster is the most noted writer of the early part of this century. His *Menologium Sanctorum Scotorum* was printed 1619, prohibited 1626, for its gross falsehoods; published 1627, with a new title *Historia Ecclesiastica Scotorum*; and again under the name of *David Camerarius De statu hominis, veteris simul et novæ ecclesiæ, et sanctis regni Scotiæ*. *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 68, 69.

his countrymen, a circumstance which says much for his sagacity and candour.

The next writer was Sir ROBERT SIBBALD, whose works appeared from 1680 till 1700; and who had the true spirit and industry of an antiquary, tho no great sagacity nor abilities. Many of his works are in print, and are curious, and sometimes valuable. The collections he formed in his library of various MSS. concerning Scottish antiquities, written by himself and others, were sufficient to procure him the just fame of an antiquary. These MSS. are now in the Advocate's library, Edinburgh; and a publication of the best of them would be very acceptable*.

During the same period the ancient history of Scotland (the chief object of an antiquary), which had hitherto been suffered to remain as Fordun, Boyce, and Buchanan, had thought proper to forge it, began for the first time to incur critical examination.

* A collection of the best MS treatises relating to Scottish Antiquities, and the rarest of such as are printed, would form a valuable publication. The collections of Grævius and Gronovius, relating to Greek and Roman antiquities, afford a model; but two or three volumes folio might contain all the Scottish.

Sir

Sir Robert Gordon had exprest doubts and disbelief; but unhappily did not publish a special work on the subject. Sibbald, in his history of Fife, also differed from received fables, in supposing the Piks not extirpated, but really the Lowlanders, and their language the Lowlandish. Yet it so happened that the English writers, who had just begun to reject the fables of Geofrey of Monmouth, now had occasion to criticise the Scottish fables. Usher indeed, in his *Antiquities of the British churches*, published in 1639, had led the way; but the civil commotions that followed, prevented any attention being paid to such subjects. Now that quiet prevailed, the revival of his arguments by Bishops Lloyd and Stillingfleet; and the publication of O'Flaherty's *Ogygia* in 1685; raised a strange flame among the Scottish writers. National enmity, and prejudice, made truths very unacceptable, which if they had originated among themselves, would at least have been more gracious; tho the first reception of truth, when opposed to ancient prejudices, in all ages and countries, has never been favourable. Sir George Mackenzie, king's Advocate for Scotland, in an odd fit of scribbling chivalry, thought it a duty of his office to defend the

enchanted castle of old fable ; and with the assistance of Sir Robert Sibbald, and Sir James Dalrymple, published his Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal line of Scotland, in two parts, 1685, 1686 ; afterward translated into Latin, and published together in Holland. This book, founded on a crazy idea that the honour of Scotland depended on the antiquity of its royal line, may be regarded as an omen in what manner Scottish antiquities were to be treated, in contradistinction to those of other countries. Instead of solid facts, founded on ancient authorities, which constitute the sole difference between history and romance, it contains arguments of absurd ingenuity, supported by the most trifling and puerile reading, with here and there a cunning quibble. Sir George seems incapable of that common degree of candour, which supposes it possible that the truth may be on the other side ; and he argues as an advocate for a cause, not as a philosopher who wishes only to find out where the truth lyes. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*, was a maxim unknown to this writer : and the brevity of his trifling tracts might have stared him in the face, with the old adage, *Qui pauca considerat, de facili pronunciat*.

However

However a ferment of doubt was now thrown into the ancient history of Scotland, which was in time to make it run off clearer and clearer, while the dregs of fable sunk to the bottom. And the eighteenth century, as glorious for Scottish literature, as the preceding had been adverse, was to throw all possible light on our ancient history. Here then a more regular and ample account shall begin.

1702,

NICOLSON'S Scottish Historical Library appeared; and was a most useful work to shew us what had been done for our history, and to encourage us to new efforts*. The rest of this Introduction may be regarded as a Supplement to that work, which tho published twice since in folio and quarto, with his English and Irish Libraries, has no additions.

1705,

Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE'S Collections concerning Scottish History preceding the year

* This work is not however without gross mistakes, such as his confounding St. Columba with St. Columban; his putting David Hume's History of Scotland, Edin. 1617, London, 1657, as a different work from his History of the House of Douglas and Angus, while it is the same work with a foolish title, &c.

1153, appeared. A modest, useful, industrious, writer; tho a poor antiquary. His plan is rather confused, and his manner indistinct. In his violent presbyterianism he wishes to prove that no bishops appeared in Scotland, till the eleventh century, and that the Culdees were Presbyterians. Mr. Gibbon observes that the ancient Christians were as little Protestants as they were Papists; and it may be here remarked that the Culdees were as little Presbyterians, as they were Hierarchists. They elected bishops among themselves; but a bishop of the Culdees was neither a Presbyter, nor a bishop in the modern sense. It is one great task of an antiquary to separate ideas from words.

In the same year was published ANDERSON'S Essay on the independency of Scotland, a laudable work for the time.

In the same year appeared at Paris, KENNEDY'S Chronological, Genealogical, and Historical Dissertation on the Royal Family of the Stuarts. This little work, by an Irish writer, contains all that part of the fabulous history of Ireland, which relates to the ancestors of Fergus I. and is a good abridgment. But the author's idea, that
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the Scotch Royal Line sprung from the Irish, is confuted in this Enquiry.

1708,

Dr. MACKENZIE's Lives of the Scotch writers, vol. I. was published, and was proposed to be completed in another volume. But the author's avarice led him to swell his work to two volumes more; and a fourth was still wanting to complete it. The first volume, which goes down to the year 1500, is by far the best; but has numerous *Scoti* of Ireland, who wrote many centuries before Scotland could boast of any writer, having not one native author till the thirteenth century, as Denmark has none till the twelfth, nor Sweden till the fourteenth. The whole work is remarkably dull, erroneous, and ill-written, but has some good materials. In the preface to vol. I. the idea was started, that the Scots had proceeded to Ireland from North Britain, instead of the contrary, as all our former writers bore.

1711,

ABERCROMBIE's Martial Atchievements of the Scotch Nation were printed, in two
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volumes

volumes *folio*. A new edition was lately given in octavo. This work is full of gross fables, and bitter railing against the Irish writers. In the second volume, the use of Rymer's *Fœdera* enabled the author to illustrate some points in our genuine history.

1712,

Was published A Genealogical Account of the Name of Stuart, &c. "being the long-expected work of that great antiquary David Symson, M. A. Historiographer Royal for Scotland." 8vo.

Parturiunt montes, et nascitur ridiculus mus.

If this *Great* antiquary had gone to Germany, he would have been sent to school: if even to Iceland, Torfæus would have swallowed him at one mouthful, without salt.

After this great effort there seems to have been a pause.

1723,

HAY's Vindication of Elizabeth More (and of the Scottish royal line) appeared. This work contains several curious ancient charters.

In

In the same year was printed at Glasgow, in 4to. BUCHANAN's Brief Enquiry into the Genealogy, and present state, of Ancient Scottish surnames.

1726,

CRAWFORD's Lives of the Officers of State in Scotland, was published in folio. A work of labour and merit.

1727,

GORDON's Itinerarium Septentrionale, or Journey thro the north of England, and thro Scotland, appeared. A very laudable work, had not the author added his dreams concerning Scottish origins; of which he knew just as much as he did concerning school-divinity.

In the same year SCOTT's History of Scotland was published in folio. A weak work of no name.

1729,

INNES's invaluable Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, &c. appeared, in two volumes 4to and 8vo. This work forms a grand epoch in our antiquities; and was the first that led the way to rational criticism on them. It is not however with-

out faults; of which a radical one is the imagination that the Piks were of one race with the Welch, and used the Welch language; in which the author was misled by Camden, and by Lloyd. Another gross fault is his wasting 150 pages upon the controversy concerning Mary, Buchanan's principles, &c. from p. 255 of vol. I. to the end. This was foreign to his work, and distracting to the reader by loading difficult subjects with another extraneous difficult one. It was also written "in a very great hurry to keep pace with the press," as he tells us, preface p. xxxiv. and smells of that hurry. It is really surprizing that so judicious and cool a writer could have been so absurd, as to load his work with such stuff. His manner of division into books, chapters, and articles, sections, and dissertations, is also obscure and indistinct.

His greatest merit lies in publishing the old Chronicles, and other remains of our history. But he is not very accurate, as the reader will find in the collation of his edition with the originals, at the end of this volume. However his industry, coolness, judgment, and general accuracy, recommend him as the best antiquary that Scotland

land has yet produced. He was indeed educated in the French school, being a priest of the Scottish college at Paris.

From p. 725, 728, 760, it appears that he intended a second part, concerning the Ecclesiastic History of Scotland. Tho it may easily be seen to what side he would incline, yet there is great room to regret that he did not publish this second part: and that in the first, tho he gives a chronology of the Pictish kings to the year 843, yet he goes no lower than Fergus I. 503. The main part of his work is occupied in shewing that the Old Scots did not come to Britain, till the third century, and had no kings till Fergus, A. D. 1503. His long account of the Scottish Historians is exact, curious, and interesting*.

* A silly pamphlet in answer to Innes was published at Edin. 1733, 4to, pp. 32: and one Tait wrote another in 12mo. Edin. 1741, pp. 20. The last led the way to Goodal's dream that Strabo's *Ierne* was Scotland. Such trifling publications it is not the author's purpose to detail. "Persequi quidem quod quisque unquam, vel contemptissimorum hominum, dixerit, aut nimiae miseriae, aut inanis jactantiae est: et detinet atque obruit ingenia, melius aliis vacatura."

Quintilian.

1738,

MALCOM, a clergyman, published his *Dissertations on the Celtic language*, 8vo. the first work which had appeared in Scotland upon that subject; which afterward slept, till Ossian had the happy effect to awaken public curiosity.

1739,

ANDERSON's magnificent work the *Diplomata et Numismata Scotiæ* appeared; a publication never to be transcended in elegance, and scarcely in exactness. The learned and modest RUDDIMAN prefixed an able introduction. This work does more real honour to Scotland, than the dreams of an hundred antiquists. Unhappily the plates cannot be found for a new edition proposed.

1747,

RUDDIMAN's answer to Logan on the constitution of Scotland was published, with a frontispiece by Strange, being his first engraving, as is said. Ruddiman was a warm friend of royalty, and of the house of Stuart, so much so that he firmly believed, and often repeated in conversation, that every one of that line, who was to ascend the throne, was born with a red lion impressed

on his right arm *. This work is of course warm ; but his antagonist palpably so weak and illiterate, that half the force Ruddiman exerts might have crushed him. This writer, accustomed to accuracy, approves of Innes's work, and frequently repeats his disbelief of our old fables.

1750,

DUFF's silly History of Scotland appeared in folio.

1755,

KEITH's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops was published in 4to. A laudable work, had not the author been too hot. As prejudices rest on fables, it is no wonder that he is angry with Ireland, and will have all *Scoti* to be of North Britain. He should have known better ; but prejudice, joined with a plentiful lack of learning, is invincible.

1757,

MAITLAND's History of Scotland was printed at London, in two folio volumes. Another hot writer ; for heat was, till lately,

* This was told to the author by the late ingenious Dr. Stuart, a relation of Ruddiman's, and who had often heard R. insisting on this.

so usual among us, that some pretended to know a book written by a Scottish author by its warmth : some wags even judged by the parched brownness of the leather cover, arising from the heat of the pages. Angry and hot is Maitland ; but his work, sacred to Vulcan, is not only hot, but lame. He is a bitter enemy of Innes, of Ireland, of the Pikes, and of himself. He however abandons the kings prior to Fergus, whose reign he dates 403, by a blunder of a century. But who shall blame him ; for what did he know of the matter ? His remarks on Roman antiquities in Scotland, which he inspected himself, are curious ; but the rest of his work confused, illiterate, inaccurate, and deficient in common information.

1759,

GOODAL published his edition of Fordun, in two volumes folio. A laudable work ; but his Introduction is another hot piece, fraught with furious railing, contemptible scurrility, low prejudice, small reading, and gross error. He talks like a master, where he is not even a scholar ; and dreams he knows every thing, when he knows nothing. The contrast between Ruddiman's merit and modesty, and Goodal's ignorance and impudence, is very striking.

1762,

Mr. JAMES MACPHERSON, in the prefaces to his *Offian*, began to reveal fundry novel-ties concerning Scottish history. He however applauds Innes, and consents that Fergus, son of Erc, was the first king, as the ancient fables were inimical to king Fingal. The praise of great genius, and of giving rise to the study of the Celtic tongues, both in Scotland and Ireland, might have screened him from censure, had not his "Introduction," after-mentioned, been as much fraught with falsehood and fable, as his *Erse* poems.

1766,

Mr. O'CONOR's *Dissertations on the History of Ireland* were published at Dublin: at the end is "a Dissertation on the first migration and final settlement of the Scots in North Britain, with occasional observations on the poems of Fingal and Temora."

1767,

Guthrie's *History of Scotland* appeared, the best of the modern, in ten volumes 8vo. But it is a mere money-jobb, hasty, and inaccurate.

1768,

1768,

Dr. JAMES MACPHERSON'S *Dissertations on the Caledonians* appeared in quarto, with a preface by Mr. James Macpherson the editor.

Quinti progenies Arrî, par nobile fratrum
Nequitia et nugis, pravorum et amore gemellum ;

Luscinias soliti impenso prandere coemptas ;
Quorsum abeant fani ? creta an carbone notandi ?

Hor.

Dr. Macpherson's book was written in the Hebudes, and his library was evidently very small. Yet he seems never to have suspected that he was painting without colours, or writing upon a subject of which it required ten times his reading, even to form a conception. His total ignorance of the literature of the middle ages, of Norwegian manners and customs, which he takes for Druidic forsooth, of the origins of nations and of languages, and of the materials absolutely requisite for his undertaking, serves to lessen our wonder at his prejudices. Living among the Highlanders, tho himself surely of Lowland or Norwegian extract *, he

* Macpherson, it is perfectly known, means the son of the *parson*, and it is probable that only the Lowland priests who were sent to the Highlands were called *parsons*, a Lowland term.

takes

takes up a gratuitous idea, that the Highlanders are the ancient Caledonians, tho he confesses that they regard themselves as of Irish extraction ; and supports his opinion by such arguments, as if used on any other subject, might be accused of sheer puerility. His etymological nonsense he assists with gross falsehoods ; and pretends to skill in the Celtic, without quoting one single MS. in short he deals wholly in assertion and opinion ; and it is clear that he had not even an idea what learning and science are. He might, with as just a title, have written upon medicine, or navigation, as upon antiquities ; for any one may give assertions and opinions upon any subject. To what purpose served his skill in the Celtic, so highly vaunted by the editor ? Does he quote one MS. thro his whole work ? A Laplander, who should pretend to treat of the origin of the Scandinavians, because he knew the Laplandic language, would be laughed at. But there are who seem to want that *diaphragm* in the mind, which separates falsehood from truth, and nonsense from sense. His work is also remarkably dull, and indistinct ; and bears in every page that faint conception, and languid expression, which attend

attend obscure and misty notions of a subject.

1772,

Mr. James Macpherson condescended to honour the public with his Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Compared with which work Dr. Macpherson's is modest and laudable. The empty vanity, shallow reading, vague assertion, and etymological nonsense of this production, are truly risible.

None but itself can be its parallel.

It's author not knowing the difference between science and opinion, history and romance, has ventured on quite a new path, and speaks of *confuting* antient authorities! He boasts of skill in the Celtic, yet quotes not one MS. and seems resolved to set every law of common science, and common understanding, at defiance. For fact we have frothy declamation: for learning impudence, that sure and eternal attendant of ignorance.

These two writers, had their skill answered their wish, would have founded quite a new school in our history. As they
are

are the very first authors whom the Highlands of Scotland have ever produced*, the novelty and oddity of their prejudices is not to be wondered at. Their contempt for the Lowlanders †, and reverence for savage manners and customs, is striking. The Lowlanders, really themselves the ancient Caledonians, and amounting to more than a million of people, while the Highlanders, an Irish colony, exceed not 400,000, were to lose their history and fame, to gratify the prejudices of these two writers; rash enough to be the bitter enemies of the Irish the ancestors of the Highlanders, and of the Low-

* Except the senachies, of whom Martin (Description of the Western Isles, p. 116.) speaks in the following terms: "I must not omit to relate their way of study, which is very singular. They shut their doors and windows for a day's time; and ly on their backs, with a stone upon their belly, and plaids about their heads: and, their eyes being covered, they pump their brains for rhetorical encomium, or panegyric." Martin surely had the second-sight; and the prophecy relates to the Macphersons. The stone must be ignorance; the plaid, prejudice.

† In "a collection of Gaelic proverbs," Edin. 1785, 12mo. we find the following, p. 67, 'An t-ubh is an t-eune do na Ghael, agu san cac is am mum do na Ghall.' 'The egg and bird to the Highlander, and the dung to the Lowlander.'

landers their friends. But the ignorance of the Lowlanders themselves, concerning their history, left room for this attack, as the sick lion could not defend himself from the kick of an ass. Had we ever produced a Sigonius, a Du Cange, a Muratori, or even a Torfæus, these puerile writers would have trembled as school-boys before their master. Science would have laughed at the phantoms of opinion.

Were any writer to arise in the Highlands, who would not pretend to confute ancient authorities upon no authority at all, but his own dreams; who would allow the Irish extract of the Highlanders, and peruse Irish MSS. in order to throw light on their history and antiquities by faithful translations; who would study Scandinavian antiquities, as the Norwegians were lords of the Highlands and iles from the ninth century, and remain still in their progeny; he would deserve great praise. After the favourable reception of Ossian, it would be risible to accuse the Lowlanders of prejudice on their part. But to extinguish all history and mention of the Lowlanders was pushing the jest too far; especially as not one name of a Highlander is to be found in the whole history

tory of Scotland after the year 1056*. The Highlanders were not indeed even subject to the Scottish crown, from the ninth to the sixteenth century, but to the Norwegian lords: so that their modesty, in taking all our history to themselves, exceeds all parallel.

1773.

Mr. WHITAKER's Genuine History of the Britons, in answer to Mr. Macpherson, came to light. As Mr. M. dealt only in *assertion*, the only answer required was *denial*. But as Mr. W. pretended to be Welch, and Mr. M. to be a real Highlander, the match was fair.

Et vitula tu dignus, et hic.

1775.

O'Flaherty's Ogygia Vindicated against Sir George Mackenzie, was first published from the MS. by Mr. O'Connor.

* That is in solemn narration; for, in minuter annals and memoirs, they are mentioned as concerned in thefts and riots. During the last and present century, they have been dreaded by the Lowlanders, as all civilized nations fear savages. But barbarous customs, and uncouth ferocity, are very different from courage; a party of savages might pierce thro any civilized kingdom, and conquer till their opponents were accustomed to their singular mode of fighting. The Macassars, and Wild Americans, afford many proofs of this.

1776.

Sir DAVID DALRYMPLE, Lord Hailes, published the first volume of his Annals of Scotland; and the second followed in 1779. They comprize the period from 1056 to 1371; and are written with an accuracy and information hitherto unknown in our history. This excellent writer had before given sundry smaller works, illustrating our history and antiquities, all of which are highly esteemed for the candour, love of truth, exactness and industry, which pervade them. It is much to be regretted that he did not continue his Annals, and it is impossible to guess at the reason of the interruption, except that some malignant star seems to influence Scotch history and antiquities. But three centuries of our history, illustrated by Sir David Dalrymple, form a great and pleasing acquisition.

1780.

SMITH's Gaelic Antiquities appeared; a laudable work, as collecting Highland manners and customs: but the author often takes common Norwegian matters for Druidic, as he calls them. It remains

mains to be proved that there ever was a Druid in the Highlands; and we must not abuse the privilege which antiquaries have of dreaming. But this author is far more moderate, and honest, than the Macphersons.

1786.

Johnston's *Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ*, &c. were printed at Copenhagen, in two volumes, 4to. containing extracts from the Icelandic writers concerning Britain and Ireland. An acceptable work; but which is defective in illustration, and in accuracy.

List of the Chief Books, and Editions, used.

* * * Those in Italic letter are indispensably necessary to the library of a Scottish antiquary.

A.

- A** Dami Bremensis Hist. Eccl. apud Lindenbrog. Script. Germ. Sept. Francof. 1630, fol.
 Adams' Index Villaris. Lond. 1680, fol.
Adelung Glossarium Manuale, ex Ducangio et Carpentario. Halæ, 1772, 6 vols. 8vo.
Adomnani Vita Columbæ, apud Canisium in Lect. Ant. Messingamum, Bollandum, Surium, &c. &c. &c.
Æthici Cosmographia cum Mela Gronovii. Lug. Bat. 1696, 8vo.
 Aimoini Hist. Paris, 1603, fol. et apud Bouquet Historiens de France.
Ammianus Marcellinus Boxhornii, Lug. Bat. 1632, 12mo: Gronovii, ib. 1693, fol.
 Anastasii Bibliothecarii Hist. Eccl. Paris, 1642, fol.
Andree Lexicon Islandicum. Hauniæ, 1683, 4to.
 Archæologia. London, 1770, seqq.
 Arii Polyhistoris libellus de Islandia, Buffæi. Hauniæ, 1733, 4to.
 Aristotelis Opera, 1597, 4 vols. fol.
 Asserii Annales Alfredi, a Wise. Oxonii, 1722, 8vo.

B.

- Bartholinus de causis contemptæ a Danis mortis*. Havniæ, 1689, 4to.
 Baxteri Glossarium Ant. Brit. Lond. 1719, 8vo.
Bedæ Opera, Basil. 1563, 8 vols. fol. *Hist. Eccl. Angl.* Colonia, 1601, 12mo: a Smith, Cant. 1722, fol.
 2 Biblio-

Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica. London, 1782,
&c. 4to.

Blondi Opera. Basil, 1531, fol.

Bollandi, &c. Acta Sanctorum. Antv. 1643 to 1786,
fol. 50 vols. published.

Borlase's Cornwall. Oxford, 1754, fol.

Bouquet Historiens de France. Paris, 1738, *seqq.* fol.
12 vols. published.

Burton's Itinerary of Antoninus. London, 1658, fol.

C.

Cæsar, a Maittaire. Lond. 1772, 8vo.

Camden's *Britannia*, by Gibson. London, 1772, fol.

—— *Anglica, Hibernica, &c.* Francof. 1602, fol.

Caradoc of Llancarvon's History of Wales. London,
1697, 8vo.

Carte's History of England. London, 1747, 4 vols. fol.

Chamberlayne *Oratio Dominica in omnibus fere linguis.*
Amst. 1715, 4to.

Chronicon de Mailros, apud Gale script. Angl. Oxon.
1684, 3 vols. fol.

Chronicon Saxonum, a Wheloc, cum Beda Alfredi.
Cant. 1643, fol. a Gibson, Oxonii 1692, 4to.

Chronicon Manniæ, in Camden's *Britannia*.

Claudianus Heinfii. Elz. 1650, 12mo. Gesneri, Lipsiæ,
1759, 8vo.

Cleffellii *Antiquitates German.* Francof. 1733, 8vo.

Clerk, Sir John, *Dissertation on the ancient language*
of Britain: in *Bibl. Topogr. Brit.*

Cluverii *Geographia*. Lond. 1711, 4to.

Colgan *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*. Lovan. 1645, fol.

—— *Acta Triadis Thaumaturgæ*, (Patricii, Columbæ,
et Brigidæ). Ib. 1647, 2 vols. fol.

Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis. Dublin 1774, *seqq.*
4 vols. 8vo.

Cuminii *Vita Columbæ*, apud Mabillon *Sæcula Benedic-*
tina.

D.

Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, *Annals of Scotland*. Edin. 1776,
2 vols. 4to.

Dalrymple, Sir James, *Collections concerning Scottish History.*
Edin. 1705, 8vo.

Dalrymple,

Dalrymple, Sir James, Remarks on Camden. Edin. 1694, 8vo.

D'Anville Geographie Ancienne abregee. Paris, 1768, 3 vols. 12mo.

——— Etats formés en Europe, apres la chute de l'Emp. Rom. Paris, 1771, 4to.

Davis Dictionarium Kymbraicum feu Wallicum. Londini, 1632, fol.

Diodorus Siculus Wesselingi. Amst. 1746, 2 vols. fol.

Dion Cassius Reimari. Hamburgi, 1750, 2 vols. fol. Leunclavii, Francof. 1592, 8vo.

Dissertationes variæ de antiq. Sveciæ, 1720—1770, 4to. in the king's library.

Du Cange Glossarium ad Script. Mediæ et Infimæ Lat. Paris, 1733, 6 vols. fol.

Du Chesne rerum Norman. Script. Lut. 1619, fol.

E.

Eadmeri Historia Novorum, a Seldeno. Londini, 1623, fol.

Eccardus de origine Germanorum. Goeting. 1750, 4to.

Edda prosaica, Resenii. Hafn. 1665, 4to.

——— rhythmica seu antiquior, vulgo Sæmundina dicta. Hafniæ, 1787, 4to. tom. I.

Eddii Vita Wulfridi, apud Gale Script. Angl.

Essai sur l'histoire de Picardie. Abbeville, 1770, 3 vols. 12mo.

Evans' Specimens of Welch poetry. Lond. 1764, 4to.

F.

Flemingi Collectanea de S. Columbano, a Serino. Lovan. 1667, fol.

Florentii Vigornensis Chronicon. Londini, 1592, 4to.

Forduni Scotichronicon. Edin. 1759, 2 vols. fol.

G.

Gale et Fulman Scriptores Hist. Angl. Oxon. 1684, 3 vols. fol.

Gildas de excidio Britonum, apud Bertram Scriptores Tres. Havniæ, 1757, 8vo.

Gibbon's

- Gibbon's Roman History. London, 1783, 6 vols. 8vo.
 3 last vols. 1788, 4to.
 Giraldi Cambrensis Itin. Cambriæ apud Camden. Anglica, Normannica, &c.
 Goldasti rerum Alamann. Script. edit. alt. Francof. 1661, fol.
 Goodal Introductio ad Fordunum, in edit. Forduni, Edin. 1759, 2 vols. fol. some copies of the same edition bear 1775.
 Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale. Lond. 1726, fol.
 Grotii Historia Gothorum. Amst. 1655, 8vo.
 Gulielmi Neubrigensis Hist. a Hearne. Oxon. 1719, 3 vols. 8vo.
 Gunlaugs Saga. Hafniæ, 1775, 4to.

H.

- Herodiani Historia. Oxoniæ, 1678, 8vo.
 Herodotus Wesselingii. Amst. 1763, fol.
 Hervarar Saga. Hafniæ, 1785, 4to.
 Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores, variorum. Lug. Bat. 1661, 8vo.
 Horsley's Britannia Romana. London, 1732, fol.
 Hume's History of England. Lond. 1782, 8 vols. 8vo.
 Hutchinson's View of Northumberland. Newcastle, 1778, 2 vols. 4to.

I.

- Ihre Glossarium Suio-Gothicum. Upsalæ, 1769, 2 vols. fol.
 Innes' Critical Essay on the inhabitants of Scotland. London, 1729, 2 vols. 8vo.
 Jornandes Vulcanii Lug. Bat. 1597, 1617, 8vo. et in Grotii Hist. Goth.
 Isidori Opera. Paris, 1601, fol.
 Islands Landnama-bok. Skalholt, 1688, 4to. Hafniæ, 1774, 4to.
 Itinerarium Antonini. Venet. 1518, 12mo.

K.

- Keith's Catalogue of Scottish bishops. Edin. 1755, 4to.
 Kennedy's chronological, &c. Dissertation on the Stuarts. Paris, 1705, 8vo.

Keyßler Antiquitates Sept. et Celt. Hanoveræ, 1720,
8vo.

L.

Langebek Script. rerum Dan. Hafniæ, 1772, fol. 4 vols.
published.

Langhorne Elenchus Antiquitatum Albionensium, &c.
una cum brevi Regum Pictorum Chronico. Lond.
1673, 8vo.

———— Chronicon regum Angliæ. Ib. 1679, 8vo.

L'Art de vérifier les Dates des Faits Historiques. Paris,
1770, fol.

Lloyd's (Edw.) Archæologia. Oxford, 1707, fol.

Lluyd (Humphrey) Commentariolum de Britannia,
Col. Agr. 1572, 8vo. A translation by Twyne,
London, 1573, 12mo. Accurante Mose Gulielmio,
Lond. 1731, 4to.

Loccenii Antiquitates Sueo-Gothicæ. Holmiæ, 12mo.

Lye Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico Latinum, a Manning.
London, 1772, 2 vols. fol.

Lynch Cambrensis Everfus. 1662, fol.

M.

Macpherson, Dr. James, Dissertations on the Caledo-
nians. London, 1768, 4to.

———— Mr. James, Introduction to the History
of Britain and Ireland. London, 1773, 4to. Ossian,
London, 1765, 2 vols. 8vo.

Mac Curtin's Discourse in vindication of the antiquity
of Ireland. Dublin, 1717, 4to.

Malcolm's Essays on the Celtic tongue, &c. Edin.
1738, 8vo.

Mallet's Northern Antiquities. London, 1770, 2 vols. 8vo.

Marcellini V. C. Comitis Illyriciani Chronicon, cum
Idatii Chronico. Lut. Par. 1619, 8vo.

Martin's Western Islands. London, 1716, 8vo.

Matthæi Westm. Florilegi Hist. Angl. Francof. 1601,
fol.

Mela Gronovii. Lug. Bat. 1696, 8vo.

Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Let-
tres, 41 vols. to 1780.

Messenii Scandia illustrata. Holmiæ, 1700, fol.

Messingham

Messingham Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum, seu Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ. Paris, 1624, fol. The only collection of the kind which is common.

Milton's History of England. London, 1671, 4to.

Miscellanea Antiqua. London, 1710, 8vo. contain,

1. Life of James V. from the French. Paris, 1612.

2. His Navigation. 3. Buchanan's Chamæleon.

Montesquieu, Oeuvres de. Amst. 1772, 7 vols. 8vo.

Murray (*Johannis Philippi*) Descriptio Terrarum Septent.

Sæc. IX. X. XI.—De Britannia atque Hibernia sæculis a Sexto inde ad Decimum literarum domicilio.—

De coloniis Scandicis in insulis Britannicis, et maxime in Hibernia.—Antiq. Sept. et Brit. atque Hib.

inter se comparatæ.—De Pythea Massiliensi. In

Commentariis Novis Soc. Reg. Scient. Gottingensis,

tom. I. ad V. Gottingæ, 1771—1775, 4to. They

deserve a separate publication.

N.

Nennii Historia, apud Bertram Scriptores tres. Havniæ,

1757, 8vo. ; et separatim a Bertram, Havniæ, 1758, 8vo.

Nicolson's Historical Libraries. London, 1736, fol.

Notitia Imperii. Basil, 1552, fol. Paris, 1651, 12mo.

O.

O'Connor's Dissertations on the History of Ireland. Dublin, 1766, 8vo.

O'Flaherty's Ogygia, seu rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia. Londini, 1685, 4to.

————— Ogygia Vindicated. Dublin, 1775, 8vo.

Olaus Magnus de Gentibus Septentrionalibus. Antv. 12mo.

Orkneyinga Saga. Hafniæ, 1780, 4to.

Orosius Havercampi. Lug. Bat. 1738, 4to.

P.

Panegyrici Veteres Livinei. Antv. 1599, 8vo. Nuremberg, 1779, 2 vols. 8vo.

Parerga Historica. Dantisci, 1782, 4to.

Pelloutier

- Pelloutier Histoire des Celtes. Paris, 1770, 8 vols. 8vo.
 Pennant's Tours in Scotland. Lond. 1776, 3 vols. 4to.
 Peringskiold Monumenta Uplandica. Holmiæ, 1710, fol.
 Plinii Historia Naturalis Variorum. Lug. Bat. 1669,
 3 vols. 8vo.; Harduini, Paris, 1723, 2 vols. fol.
 Polybii Historia Gronovii. Amst. 1670, 3 vols. 8vo.
 Price's Description of Wales, prefixed to Caradoc of
 Llancarvon.
 Procopii Opera. Paris, 1662, 2 vols. fol.
Ptolemæi Geographia, Bertii. Amst. 1618, fol. and fifteen
 other editions.

R.

- Rami Nori Regnum. Christianiæ, 1689, 4to.
 Ravennas Geographus, cum Mela Gronovii. Lug. Bat.
 1696, 8vo.: various readings in Hudson Geograph.
 Gr. Minores, tom. III.
 Remberti Vita S. Amfgari apud Langebek, &c.
Ricardus Corinensis, inter Bertrami Scriptores Tres.
 Hafn. 1757, 8vo. The other two writers are Gildas
 and Nennius.
 Roberti de Monte Supp. ad Chronicon Sigeberti Gembl.
 Paris, 1513, 4to. et inter Script. Germ. Francof.
 1583, fol.
 Roy (General) Roman Antiquities in North Britain,
 MS. in the king's library, 2 vols. fol.

S.

- Sacheverel's Account of the Isle of Man: and Voyage
 to Icolmkill. London, 1702, 8vo.
 Sanfon Britannia, ou recherche de l'antiquité d'Abbe-
 ville. Paris, 1636, 12mo.
 Saville Scriptores Hist. Angl. post Bedam. Lond. 1596,
 fol.
 Saxo Grammaticus. Paris, 1514, fol.: Stephani. Soræ,
 1644, fol.
Schilteri Thesaurus Antiq. Teuton. Ulmæ, 1728, 3 vols. fol.
Schoepflin Vindiciæ Celticæ. Argent. 1754, 4to.
 ——— Commentationes Historiæ. Basil, 1741, 4to.
 Sheringham de Anglorum origine. Cantab. 1670, 8vo.
 Sibbald's History of Fife. Edin. 1710, fol.

Sidonius

Sidonius Apollinaris Savaronis. Paris, 1598, 8vo.
 Simeon Dun. apud Twysden Script. X.
 Snorronis Sturlonidis Historia, a Peringskiold. Stockholm, 1697, fol.: a Schoening. Hauniæ, 1777, 3 vols.
 Solinus apud Aldum 1518, 12mo. Paris, 1503, 4to.
 Strabo Casauboni. Lutetiæ, 1620, fol.
 Stuart's View of Society. Dublin, 8vo.
 Suenonis opuscula. Soræ, 1642, 8vo.
 Suhm Danmarks Historie. Kiobenhavn, 1781, 8vo.
 Sulpicii Severi Opera Vorstii et Clerici. Lipf. 1709, 8vo.
 Surii Vitæ Sanctorum. Colonia, 1617, 4 vols. fol.

T.

Tacitus Boxhornii. Amst. 1661, 12mo.: a Brotier. Paris, 1771, 4 vols. 4to.
 Theodoricus monachus de Regibus Norvagicis, apud Kirchman Comment. Hist. Amst. 1684, 8vo.
 Thorlacii Specimen Antiq. Bor. Havniæ, 1778, 8vo.
 Thorkelin's Fragments of English and Irish History. London, 1788, 4to.
 Torfæi Series Regum Daniæ. Hafniæ, 1702, 4to.
 ——— *Orcades*. Ib. 1697, fol.
 ——— *Historia Norvegiæ*. Ib. 1711, 4 vols. fol.
 ——— *Gronlandia antiqua*. Ib. 1706, 8vo.
 ——— *Commentatio de rebus Færeysensium*. Ib. 1695, 8vo.
 Twysden Scriptores Decem Hist. Angl. Lond. 1652, fol.

U.

Ufferii Britanicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates. Londini, 1687, fol.
 ——— *Veterum Epist. Hib. Sylloge*. Dublini, 1632, 4to.

V.

Verelii Gothrici et Rolfi Hist. Upsal. 1664, 8vo.
 ——— *Index linguæ vet. Scytho-Scandicæ*. Ib. 1691, fol.
 Von Troil Dissertatio de runarum antiquitate. Upsal, 1769, 4to.

Wachter

W.

- Wachter Glossarium Germanicum.* Lipsiæ, 1737, 2 vols. fol.
 Walker's Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards. London (Dublin), 1786, 4to.
 Wallace's account of the Orkneys. London, 1700, 8vo.
 Warburton's Vallum Romanum. London, 1753, 4to.
 Ward Vita Rumoldi. Lovan. 1662, 8vo.
Ware Antiq. Hiberniæ. Lond. 1658, 8vo.
 ——— Scriptores Hib. Dubl. 1639, 4to.
 ——— *S. Patricio adscripta opuscula.* Londini, 1656, 8vo.
 Whitaker's History of Manchester. Lond. 1773, 2 vols. 8vo.: and another vol. in 4to.
 ——— Genuine History of the Britons. Ib. 1773, 8vo.
 Williams on the vitrified forts. Edin. 1777, 8vo.
 Wittichindi Saxonis Gesta Saxonum. Basil. 1532, fol.
 Wormii Series Regum Daniæ. Hafniæ, 1642, fol.
 ——— Monumenta Danica. Ib. 1643, fol.
 Wynne's History of Ireland. Lond. 1773, 2 vols. 8vo.

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CORRECTIONS.

VOL. I.

Page 6, line 28, for 100, read 200.

28, — 35, — sole, — the sole.

29, 24, add Bodobrica in the Imperial Itinerary, and Notitia Imp. a city of Belgic Gaul.

30, 15, For the Brigantes, and Brigiani, of the Alps, &c. see Buchanan, lib. II.

73, 20, an error: it is not certain that the Saxons (or Angles, so called by the Celtic writers) never held these parts. See vol. I, p. 329.

77, 21, for 726, read 756.

117, 31, for coin of small brads, read medallion of brads.

173, 19, the omission of two sentences in printing destroys the connexion; insert after 'Dissertation annexed.' So much for the Cimbri and Teutones, who might be supposed to have possessed the south of Scandinavia, whence the Piks proceeded to North Britain. But Scandinavia was really peopled from the south-east by the Peukini; and it is suspected that their name may yet be traced, as mentioned in the Dissertation annexed. The labial, &c.

180, note, for plabam, read plebem.

184, line 22. Tacitus adds, *Eorum sacra deprehendas superstitionum persuasione. Sermo haud multum diversus.* He is speaking of the Belgic Gauls, and the Belgæ in Britain; among the former he lived; and the later were the only Britons he could know from proximity.

190, l. last, for two, read four,

210, l. 12, for Crispinus, read Bolanus.

232, l. 15, for 400, read 300.

235, l. 37, Innes should have put 1301, when the dispute with Edward I. commenced: so p. 236, l. 2; p. 237, l. 20, 22; and p. 246, l. 29, read 1301, (for 1291.)

261, l. 25, for regnum, read regum.

268, l. 4, for 530, read 506.

299, l. 22, concerning Kenelath see Appendix, p. 491.

300, l. 18, the, read and the.

318, l. 5, Adomnan mentions *Egea* or *Egg*, and several other of the Hebudes.

P. 348, l. 25, *insert*, except those on the north and west, abovementioned.

411, *note*, held all part he visited.

426. Since this was printed, the edition 1533 is come to hand. It gives *Δελααυνοιος* only ξ; and *Ιτυος*, ξ: γο; and all the other Greek editions are erroneous. For *Ουιερουεδον* it reads *Ουιερουεδουμ*; for *Τουαι*, *Τουαισις*. To Lindum it gives only κ, or 20 deg.

429. *Geographi Gr. Min. tom. III. Variæ lectiones Anon. Ravennatis, ex Codice Vaticano, cum ed. 1688, Paris.* 306, l. 3, Clindum—4. Alithacenon—5. Locatreve, Cambroianna—6. Lucotion—8. Colovion—9. Maromago, Duabfissis—10. Trimitium—11. Cocenneda, *mox* Oleaclavis—12. *Pro Eiudensca potest etiam legi Evidensca*—13. In ipsa Britannia recto tramite una alterius connexæ ubi et ipsa Britannia plus angustissima.

307, l. 1, Medionemeton—4. Lano—5. Cerma, Veromo; *sed potest etiam legi Veronio*—6. Ravatonium—7. Pinnatis, Tueffis, Lodone—10. Levioxava—309. Iterum ipso—310. Elaviana—Limonfa.

448, l. *pen.* for statum, *read* statim.

457, l. 32, for ultinum, *read* ultimum.

499, l. 19, for tempore, *read* tempora.

V O L. II.

P. 10, l. 3, for Spain, *read* Ireland.

36, l. *pen.* for woud, *read* would.

44, l. 9, for the late, *read* late.

79, l. 6, Since seeing the specimens of the genuine traditional poems ascribed to Ossian, in the Memoirs of the Irish Royal Society, the author is induced to think that most of these pieces are really composed by Irish bards.

97, and 99, the running title should be *Extent of Dalriada*.

123, l. 15, *read*, United series till 883.

156, l. 1, for are, *read* or.

178, l. 7, 8, 9, *an error*: Kenneth's laws are mentioned in the Chronicle of Melrose. See App. to this vol. No. III.

179, l. 3, for III. *read* II.

180, l. 2, for son, *read* son-in-law.

— l. 13, The *Chronicon Elegiacum* calls Grig son of Donal I. which is far more probable.

186, l. 7, 8, *an error*. That Malcom I. was slain by the people of Moray is asserted by the *Reg. St. And.* and the *Chron. Eleg.* but the *Chronicon Pictorum*, which, from superior antiquity, deserves

deserves more credit, says he was slain by the people of Mearns in Fodresach, or Claideom. Perhaps the great cairn at Fettercairn may be the tomb of Malcom I. (for while the Norwegians had the Hebrides, it seems impossible that our kings could be buried at Icolmkill); or at least a monument on the occasion.

192, n. 1, Perhaps these kings were usurpers: and Finlegh may well be supposed the father of Macbeth.—*For furly, read surely.*

203, l. 1, for 6 June, read 13 Nov.

2, ALL except the *Chron. Eleg.*

220, l. 4, for William of Malmesbury, read Fordun, who gives a circumstantial detail, says, &c.—It might have been remarked that the old English writers mistake *Scotia*, or Ireland, for Scotland. Coins of the English monarchs Ethelred 866, Edred 948, Edgar 959, Canute 1017, occur struck in Ireland. It is observable that the three last are those who pretend to the homage of *Scotland*, that is Ireland, so called by the Saxon writers till 1020.

247, l. 19, It is to be regretted that the new church founded by Kenneth III. (*Chron. Picl.*) should be unknown.

296, note. The passage of Aimoinus relates to the subjection of the *Scoti* or Irish to the Norwegians. That of Rob. de Monte produced by Torfæus, p. 30, is interpolated; the words *ante annos CDLX.* occurring in no edition; and being absolute nonsense, for in 707 there was no king of Norway. But Adam of Bremen wrote in 1075, and is a clear witness, in many passages, that the Orkneys then belonged to Norway.

DIRECTIONS *for the* BOOK-BINDER.

V O L. I.

Place the Map intituled BRITANNIÆ PARS BO-
REALIS *PTOLEMÆI*, vol. I. page 35.

Map CALEDONIA, &c. A. D. 426, vol. I. p. 321.

Map CALEDONIA, &c. A. D. 500-800, vol. I. p. 336.

Tables I. and II. of Pikiſh kings, at the end.

V O L. II.

Map SCOTIA vel HIBERNIA, vol. II. p. i.

Map PIKIA, &c. ab A. 800 ad 1100, vol. II. p. 147.

Genealogy of kings, vol. II. p. 350.

DISSERTATION ON THE SCYTHIANS after
vol. II.

Map STATE OF NATIONS, to front the *Disserta-*
tion,

In a few weeks will be delivered to the Subscribers,

VITÆ ANTIQUÆ SANCTORUM, qui habitaverunt in ea parte Britanniae nunc vocata SCOTIA, vel in ejus insulis: quasdam edidit ex MSS. quasdam collegit Johannes Pinkerton; qui et variantes lectiones, et notas pauculas, adjecit.

1. Vita Niniani ab Ailredo.
2. Columbæ, a Cuminio.
3. ——— ab Adomnano.
4. Kentegerni, a Jocelino.
5. Margaretæ Reginae, a Turgoto.
6. ————— ex Surio.
7. Magni Orcadum Comitis.
8. Davidis Regis, ab Ailredo.

P A R T I.

The earliest Celtic Inhabitants of Scotland.

VOL. I.

A

P. A. R. T. I.

The earliest Celtic Inscriptions of Scotland

Vol. I. A

AN
ENQUIRY
INTO
SCOTTISH HISTORY

Preceding the year 1056.

PART I.

The earliest Celtic inhabitants of Scotland.

CHAPTER I.

The Greek and Roman geography of Scotland.

WHEN the first dawn of Grecian science rises upon the west of Europe, in the time of Herodotus, we find that this writer calls the islands of Britain and Ireland CASSITERIDES, a name implying the *iles of tin*^a. For the Phœnicians traded hither for that metal, from their settlements in Africa and Spain; and from hence alone the ancient world was supplied with it, whence Aristotle^b calls it in general *Celtic tin*, as the west of Gaul and of Britain was still possessed

^a Herodot. III. 115. κασσιτερον is derived from κασσα, *metrix*, being chiefly used at first as mock silver, for ornaments to such.

^b De mir. ausc. si Aristotelis sit.

by the Celts, the ancient inhabitants of Europe. This name Cassiterides was afterward improperly given to the iles of Scilly, which were far too minute to attract Grecian notice; and it is agreed by the learned^c that it was originally, and properly, given to Britain and Ireland.

Herodotus, who wrote about 450 years before Christ, only hints a very faint knowlege of the Cassiterides: and as the Phœnicians, according to Strabo's^d report, carefully concealed their acquaintance with the west of Europe, lest other nations should interfere in their trade, this knowlege was not encreased for a long time. For Polybius, a well informed writer, who lived about 170 years before Christ, tells us^e that, in his time, all that part of Europe north of an oblique line, to be drawn from the Tanais to the head of the Rhone, or extremity of *Gallia Bracata*, afterward *Narbonensis*, was quite unknown. That is, all Russia, Poland, Germany, three quarters of Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia. This ignorance remained till Cæsar entered on his province of Gaul, 57 years before Christ.

My researches being confined to Scotland, no notice shall be taken of the descriptions of the south of Britain by Cæsar, who attacked it 53 years before our æra. With regard to the north, he only observes^f, after mentioning that Britain is triangular, the south side lying toward Gaul, the west toward Spain, and Hibernia or Ireland, that the north side, as he calls it, fronts the ocean with it's angle bent toward Germany. He describes the length of this side, or of Britain, as about 800 miles, being about 100 more than the truth. His geography of Britain is so perverted, that he mistakes the east for the north; but the ancients had so few

^c See Huet, Commerce des Anciens.

^d Lib. III.

^e Polyb. lib. III.

^f De Bello Gall. lib. V.

means of cultivating geography, that it is matter of wonder, that they made so few errors, not that they made so many. Cæsar's idea of Britain was this: a triangular ile, whose shortest side opposite to Gaul, or fronting south-east, as he thought, was 500 miles long; the next fronting west to Ireland and to Spain, as then imagined, had 700 miles; the third fronting north-east, it's southmost part opposite Germany, the rest viewing only the vast ocean, had 800 miles. To acquire accurate ideas of ancient knowlege, we must lay aside our own, and think, for the moment, as the ancients did; for if we allow nothing for their ignorance, but refer their ideas to our standard, confusion will arise instead of accuracy.

Diodorus Siculus lived in the time of Julius, and is said to have died very old, toward the middle of the reign of Augustus. He has a short description of Britain; and certainly profited by the discoveries of Julius. He tells us^s Britain is triangular, like Sicily, terminating in three promontories, 1. Καντιον, *Cantium*, or Kent. 2. Βελεριον, *Belerium*, The Land's End in Cornwall,

Or whether thou, to our moist vows denied,
Sleep'st by the fable of *Bellerus* old;
Where the great vision of the guarded mount
Looks tow'rd Namancos, and Bayona's hold.

Milton's Lycidas.

3. Ορχας, *Orcas*, or Dunnet Head in Caithness shire, the most northern point of Britain, fronting the Orcades, or Orkney iles. This is the very first mention of any place in Scotland by any writer. Gaul being subjected to the Roman empire, by Julius Cæsar, all provincial benefits were speedily extended to it. Many Romans settled there; and no doubt some applied themselves to merchandize. Hence discoveries were often made with respect to neighbouring countries. Diodorus

heard these discoveries; and thus mentions the most northern point of Britain by name, tho unknown to Julius.

Far other was the case with Strabo, who lived under Tiberius about 20 years after Christ, but seems never to have been beyond Cappadocia, his native country. Tho a sensible and valuable writer, he shews such gross ignorance of countries just around him, as to take the Caspian sea for a vast gulf of the great Northern Ocean, tho it be a lake near 1000 miles from it; and he brands Herodotus as a fabulist, who however knew the Caspian was a great lake, and is in geography more veracious than Strabo himself, tho he wrote 500 years before. This says very little for Strabo's information on a country so near him; and with regard to Britain and Ireland, as vastly more distant from him, no wonder that it is erroneous. In his description of Britain, to be found in his Fourth Book, he joins with former writers in considering it as triangular; but says each side has about 4300 stadia in length, that is, allowing eight stadia to a mile, 537½ miles. In book II. p. 128, he says, the length of that side of Britain which faces Gaul, is 5000 stadia, or 625 miles. In book II. p. 72, he says Ireland is 5000 stadia from France, that is, 625 miles, while in fact that distance does not exceed 200! Book I. p. 63. he says, from Marseilles to the middle of Britain are 5000 stadia, or 625 miles; while France is about 500 miles broad, and the middle of Britain would, according to Cæsar's computation, who puts it 800 miles long, take 400 miles more. In another passage of book I. he infers the distance from Marseilles to Ireland to be 12,200 stadia, or 1525 miles! Casaubon has well remarked, that Strabo's geography of Britain and Ireland is inaccurate, inconsistent, and self-contradictory. In short, we can only say, that he knew nothing either of Britain or Ireland; and that, considering his distance, it is no wonder he did

did not. But his grand and prodigious error, and in which as he followed no writer, so he is followed by none, is his placing Hibernia, or Ireland, *north* of Albion, or Britain^h. Strabo, if we may judge from his behaviour to Herodotus, seems to have been very fond of his own ideas, and to have looked upon all information as fabulous, that clashed with his preconceptions. If he heard of Cæsar's account, who rightly put Ireland on the west of Britain, he has only looked on it as akin to that of Herodotus, who regarded the Caspian as a lake. Yet both Cæsar and Herodotus were right; and Strabo egregiously wrong: a lesson of modesty to those who prefer what they call philosophy to information. For his inconsistent measurements, blame is no doubt due to transcribers; for numbers are in all MSS. most apt to be blundered. But his own errors in placing Ireland north of Britain, and extending the south of Britain from the Pyrenees to

^h Goodal, in his Introduction to Fordun, cap. 2. has availed himself of this mistake of Strabo, to support his strange dream, that the Hibernia of Strabo was Scotland, and that Ireland was unknown to the ancients till the time of Vespasian! Such utter blindness can self-love throw over the mind! Ireland, a great and fertile island, was known to the ancients as early as Britain, and gave rise to the plural Cassiterides of Herodotus, 'British islands' of Polybius. As lying on the west of Britain, it seems to have been known to the Phœnicians, even before Britain. Scotland, the most remote corner of Britain, must have been last known, as common sense argues. But it is risible to see Ireland totally vanish in the weak prejudice of this bigot. He, who could take the Mona of Cæsar for Emona, an ile of an acre of ground in the frith of Forth, cannot deserve confutation. All foreign writers put Strabo's idea, of Ireland being on the north of Britain, as a mere mistake, as well as his extending the western point of Britain so as to front the Pyrenees. Such mistakes appear in the best ancient writers, but are to be corrected by better information. Mr. Goodal betrays his silly intention at the beginning of this very chapter, by telling that, as some will have Ireland to be the most ancient Scotia, so he will shew that Scotland was the most ancient Hibernia! A pretty revenge!

the Rhine, with others equally gross, only strike us with the imperfection of ancient geography, and of Strabo's information on some matters in particular. But if we reflect ourselves, that similar errors with regard to America, and other distant countries, may be found in geographers of the last century, we must also reflect that the west of Europe was an America to the Greeks; and be content to correct their mistakes, by the solid information of Tacitus, and other Romans, whose knowledge was immediate and authentic. The grand cause of Strabo's error, with regard to Ireland, seems to have been, that it was the furthest land discovered to the northward, and he of course thought it the furthest north from Asia and Greece. Strabo says nothing of the north of Britain, and seems not to have seen Diodorus, for he only names *Κεεργιον*, as one of the three terminating promontories; but the names of the other two, Belerion, and Orcas, he does not mention.

Claudius, who began to reign 41 years after our æra, is rightly marked by Tacitusⁱ as the first emperor who began the real conquest of Britain, then more and more known; for Mela, who wrote, as his work expresses^k, at the commencement of this conquest, mentions the Orcades, or Orkneys, and says they amount to thirty in number: a calculation pretty accurate, for they are twenty six. Mela's mention of the Orkneys seems to have given rise to a fable, retailed by Eutropius and Beda, and other writers of the declining ages, that Claudius conquered the Orkneys. Vespasian was the general employed by Claudius in Britain, and was here, as Tacitus phrases it, 'shewn to the fates.'

Under Nero, Suetonius Paullinus continued the conquest of Britain; and Tacitus, in the life of Agricola, has given us an idea of his progress. Pliny, the natural historian, wrote under Vespasian, or

ⁱ Agricola.

I

^k III. 6.

about

about 70 years after Christ; but even now nothing concerning North Britain can be found¹.

Yet was it in the reign of Vespasian that full splendor was to be diffused over Scotland, from the arms of Agricola, so nobly celebrated by Tacitus. Agricola seems to have taken the command in Britain in the consulship of Ceionius Commodus, and Cornelius Priscus, 78 years after Christ, being the last year of the reign of Vespasian, and to have left it in the fourth year of Domitian, or the 84th year of our æra^m. The Brigantes, or people of Yorkshire, &c. had been subdued by Cerealisⁿ, and all South Britain was subject to Rome; so that the conquest of Agricola began at the Tweed; and to him we owe all we know concerning the state of Scotland, when first explored by the Romans. The English have Cæsar for the father of their history: the Scottish have Tacitus.

Tacitus wrote his life of Agricola in the year of Christ 97, as Brotier shews, being the year of Rome 849, and first of Trajan. He tells us, that Fabius Rusticus compared the shape of Britain to a bipennis, or polax, that is, it's triangular head: but that the extent of Caledonia, or Scotland, running far on, gives it rather the shape of a *cuneus*, or wedge: an observation just to this day. He then mentions that the Roman fleets had sailed around it, and had discovered the Orkneys, and seen Thule^o. Tacitus, however, adds little to the geography

¹ Pliny IV. 16. says that Pytheas and Isidorus put the circumference of Albion at about 3800 miles: that Agrippa marked it's length at 800, breadth 300, and Ireland as of the same breadth, but 200 miles less in length. Pliny mentions Orcades, Acmodæ (perhaps Shetland iles) Hæbudes, Mona, Monapia, Ricnea.

^m Horsley's Brit. Rom.

ⁿ Pliny IV. 16. mentions the *Silva Caledonia*, as the boundary of the Roman knowledge of Britain.

^o The veracity of Pytheas has found able supports in D'Anville, Gesner, Murray, (*Mem. des Inscr. Acta Goeting. &c.*).
D'Anville

geography of Scotland, save the weight of his great name; for he only mentions *Taus*, or the Tay; *Glota*, or Clyde; *Bodotria*, or Forth; the *Mons Grampius*, or Grampian hills; and the *Horrestii*, thought to be the people of Fifeshire.

About forty years after Tacitus wrote, Ptolemy gave his geography; which many concur to regard as the most inaccurate work of antiquity, and which others, with more reason, think a wonderful production for the time. Indeed to expect accuracy in ancient geography will appear ridiculous to any one, who reflects in the least on the deficiency of ancient science. We allow for errors in ancient natural history, &c. why not equal allowance in geography? How could the ancients take longitudes, or latitudes, with any exactness? Ptolemy's geography of Scotland is, above all, singularly defective, for he makes the whole country bend due *east*, from the *Νοταριων ακρον*, or Mull of Galloway, to the *Ορκας ακρον*, or Promontory Orcas of Caithness. So that all Scotland, instead of running due north, runs due east: nor can this arise from any corruption of his text, but was infallibly his opinion, from the longitudes and latitudes he lays down at full length, for a hundred places. The whole of Ptolemy's work that regards Scotland may be found in the Appendix: and particular illustrations of it, in two chapters, Parts II. and III. of this treatise.

The other geographical notices concerning Scotland, to be found in Greek or Roman writers, are too minute to deserve enumeration, and will be found, as they rise to historical view, in the course of this work. The *Notitia Imperii*, written about 406, in the reigns of Arcadius, and Hono-

D'Anville will have the real ancient Thule to be Shetland; but, I confess, I cannot conceive, that from the northern extremity of Britain, to Shetland, should be a navigation of *six* days. Iceland seems to answer the description better.

rius,

rius, was found in Britain, as Alciatus tells in his preface; and has a list of the stations along the Wall of Antoninus, between Clyde and Forth, as afterward shall be shewn, not that of Hadrian between Solway and Tine, as imagined by antiquaries. The *Itinerarium Antonini* has also one or two names of Roman stations in Scotland; and is a work of nearly the same period with the *Notitia*. The vulgar title is utterly absurd, as Vossius shews, for it can belong to no Antoninus, as it mentions *Constantinopolis*, *Maximianopolis*, and *Constantina*, so must be posterior to Constantine I. It seems to be the work of Julius Honorius, mentioned by Cassiodorus, and others; but see the remarks of Gronovius, in his edition of Mela, *Lug. Bat.* 1696, 8vo. Some MSS. bear *Incipit Chronica Julii Cæsaris*, a title as just as that of *Itinerarium Antonini*: but *Itinerarium Imperiale* would be the best title. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* has nothing concerning Britain, except a small fragment of the south of England. The *Geographus Anonymus Ravennas* enumerates a few names of places in Scotland: he wrote in the seventh, or eighth, century; and that passage, tho of no value, is given in the Appendix.

Such are all the ancient monuments, which illustrate the Roman geography of Scotland. But a modern one, of a most singular kind, also deserves mention, namely, the work of *Ricardus Corinensis*, or Richard of Cirencester, a writer of the Fourteenth century. Mr. Bertram, an Englishman residing in Denmark, found this work there, about thirty years ago, in a MS. which, from a specimen sent, Mr. Casley, a good judge, pronounced 400 years old; and it was published at Copenhagen in 1758. The author had it seems travelled to Italy^p; and had there perused Cæsar, Strabo, Ptolemy, Tacitus, and other authentic writers.

^p Stukeley's Account of Richard of Cirencester, 1757, 4to.

He also builds on certain papers of a Roman *Dux*⁹; by which, if i mistake not, we must understand a *Dux Britanniarum*, or Governor of Britain, not a general. Tho this work be almost miraculous for the age, yet it's authenticity has not been questioned, and appears unquestionable. Nevertheless, as being so late a work, it must be used with much caution.

⁹ lib. I. c. 7. p. 35. ex fragmentis quibusdam a Duce quodam Romano consignatis, et posteritati relictis, sequens collectum est itinerarium.

CHAPTER II.

The earliest Celtic inhabitants of Scotland.

THE Greek and Roman writers must now be left for a while, that a point may be investigated, on which they afford no light. But let not the reader imagine that he is to be led into the regions of systematic conjecture, or etymological madness. A rigid enquiry after truth is the sole aim of this performance. Truth has bounds. Error has none. The cultivated land of science is not extensive: but around it lie the sandy hills and deserts of falsehood, ready to be raised in whirlwinds by every blast of prejudice or folly, and to swallow up parts at once, which it requires infinite labour to clear.

It is well known that the Celts were the ancient inhabitants of Europe. They were reduced to a third part of Gaul, and to the western part of Britain and Ireland, before the time of Cæsar. But, before they were expelled by the Scythians of Asia, they appear to have held most of Europe. Pliny mentions a *Promontorium Celticæ*, which, by the situation he gives, and the names around, must have been near Moscow in Russia. The Cimmerii, who were driven from the Euxine, by the Scythians, were, as the ancients inform, the same with the Cimbri; and the Cimbri were Celts, as fully shewn in the annexed Dissertation. The Celts being expelled by the Scythians, and reduced to the western extremities of Europe, about 500 years before Christ, little knowledge of them can be derived from the Grecian earliest writers,

writers, who only mention them as a people living far to the west. But they have left, in the names of rivers and hills, sure marks of their language and residence ^a.

When a man is writing upon a point of antiquity, without direct authorities, he should say very little, and very much to the purpose. That the reader may therefore see at once, that there is a firm foundation for inferring a Celtic race of men to have been the earliest inhabitants we can trace of Scotland, in particular, he must attend to a fact, which is equipollent to the best authorities. This fact is that the names of rivers, and mountains, all over Scotland, even to the furthest western isles, are very often, in that dialect of the Celtic, called the Welch, or Cumraig ^b.

To give this fact full weight, it must be remarked that the Piks, whom Beda ^c mentions as the first inhabitants of North Britain, and whom Agricola found there, were, as Beda says, a people of Scythia, a name Jornandes and others give to Scandinavia; and according to Tacitus ^d were Germans. That is, by both accounts they were Scythians or Goths ^e, so that the Celtic names could not be their's. Next it must be remarked that the Dalriads, or present highlanders, a paltry Irish colony, never extended beyond Argyle till a late period ^f. Nor could the names be their's, since the Welch differs widely from the Irish; and the more old they are, the difference is the greater, so that Beda marks them as two different tongues, as much as the English and Latin ^g. These names

^a See these points fully illustrated, and the authorities, in the Dissertation at the end of this work.

^b See the different descriptions of Scotland; and those of the Hebudes, by Martin, Dr. Macpherson, Macauley, &c.

^c Lib. I. c. 1.

^d Agricola. The origin of the Piks is fully illustrated, Part III.

^e See Dissertation annexed.

^f As shewn, Part IV.

^g Beda, lib. I. c. 1. *quinque gentium linguis . . . Anglorum, videlicet, Britonum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum.*

therefore neither belong to the Piks, nor Dairiads. Of course they belong to inhabitants preceding both.

As the Irish call their tongue Gaelic, or Gaulish; so the Welsh call theirs Cumraig. As the Irish call themselves Gael or Gauls, so the Welsh call themselves Cumri. Now it appears that the Celts (a grand generic name, as the Sarmatians, Goths, Mongols, &c.) consisted originally of two vast divisions, namely the Gael or Gauls, who were the ancient inhabitants of all Gaul; and the Cumri, or Cimbri, or Cimmerii, who held all Germany^h. As to the etymology of Celt, Gael, Cumri, they shall be left to those *qui omnia sciunt et plus*, who know every thing and more.

As the south part of Britain was first peopled from Gaul, by Gael, who were afterward expelled by Cumri, from Germanyⁱ; so there is reason to infer that the north part of Britain was first peopled by Cumri, from present Jutland. For the passage from the Cimbric Chersonese to North Britain, thro open sea, was far more easy than from the south of Britain to the north, thro vast forests. Sea, far from hindering, promotes even savage colonization; and late navigators have found islands in the Pacific Ocean, 500 or 600 miles from each other, all peopled by one race of men. Where men and sea are found, canoes are always found, even in the earliest state of society: and the savage Fins, and Greenlanders, perform far longer navigations, than from Jutland to Scotland. The length of Britain is so great, from south to north, that to populate the later from the former, must have been a work of many ages; whereas the passage from Germany was open and easy. The Piks, as fully shewn afterward, came

^h Dissertation.

ⁱ Part II. c. 1.

from Norway to Scotland; and analogy may infer that the first Celtic inhabitants of the later country proceeded from the north of Germany. The Cimbri, or Cumri, possessed the coast of Germany, opposite to North Britain, or the Cimbric Chersonese, even down to a late period. As it is improbable that the north of Britain remained without Celtic inhabitants, while all the opposite country of Germany was held by them, it is reasonable to infer, that the Cimbri were the first inhabitants. But when we find Cimbric names of mountains, and rivers, remaining in the most remote parts of Scotland, the inference acquires as much certainty as the case will permit. These Cimbri, the first inhabitants of Scotland that can be traced, were of one great stock with the Cumri, or Welch; but the Welch are not their descendents, but remains of the Cimbri of South Britain, who passed from the opposite coast of Germany, and drove the Gael or Gauls, the first inhabitants, into Ireland, as shall presently be evinced.

The Cimbri held Scotland till the Picts came and expelled them; an event which, as shall afterward be shewn, happened about 200 years before Christ. These Cimbri were driven by the Picts, down below Loch Fyn, and the Tay, and after beyond the friths of Forth and Clyde, where a part remained till a late period*, and they are doubtless the pregenitors of some of the inhabitants of Clydesdale, and Galloway.

But the greatest part appears to have past into Ireland, from the opposite shores; and, if the *Tuath de Danan* of Irish fables had any existence, it is likely they were Cumri from North Britain. For by the Irish accounts¹ the Tuath de Danan came from North Britain; and from Ptolemy it appears, that a tribe of the Cumri, in Airshire, Kenfrew, &c. was called *Damnii*; as was also a

* Part II.

¹ O'Flaherty, O'Connor, &c.

tribe on the opposite coast of Ireland, according to Richard. But Ptolemy calls the Irish tribe, *Darini*; and the Tuath de Danan may be a fairy people. However this be, there is reason to think that a great part of the Cumri passed from North Britain into Ireland.

The Celtic nations had been driven to the west of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland, by the Scythians, or Goths, at least 300 years before Christ, as shewn in the Dissertation annexed: and their remains were so intermingled with their conquerors, that their language and manners were half Gothic, even before the Christian æra, and have been always getting more and more so. Hence no account of real Celtic manners, or language, can be recovered. But from every argument of ancient authority, and of their manners recorded by successive authors of the middle ages, and existing even to this day, the ancient Celts must have been mere savages. Asia was the parent of arms, arts, and cultivation; and when the Scythians poured into Europe from the shores of the Euxine, the Celts were to them, as the savages of America to the European settlers. The Fins and Celts were the sole indigenes of Europe; and the manners of the Laplanders can alone afford any analogy whereby to judge of those of the real Celts. This century has been overwhelmed with nonsense concerning Druidism, and Druidic monuments, as being universal among the Celts. Druidism, as we know from Cæsar^m, was a late invention in the south of Britain: and it was totally abolished by Tiberiusⁿ. It was palpably Phœnician^o, and was taught by the Phœnicians to the inhabitants of Cornwall, where they traded for tin: nor is there a single authority, in all antiquity, for its ever extending, during the century or so that it existed,

^m Lib. VI.

ⁿ Plin. Hist. Nat. xxx. 1.

^o Dissertation annexed, p. 68.

beyond the iland Mona, or Anglesey, and the Garonne, or southern bound of Celtica, in Gaul. They therefore who speak of Druidism in Germany, Caledonia, or Ireland, are mere visionaries. Tacitus knew of no Druids, either in Germany, or Caledonia^p; and there is not a shadow of authority for Druids in Ireland. Druidic monuments form another idle dream of antiquists; but the Celts had no monuments, any more than the Fins, or savage Africans, or Americans; and those monuments are really Gothic, and are common in Scandinavia and Iceland, where no Celts, or Druids were known. Those ignorantly called Druidic Temples, are Gothic Courts of Justice, used for that purpose in Scandinavia and Iceland, down to a late period^r.

^p Germania et Agricola. Cæsar VI. says expressly, the Germans had no Druids, *neque Druides habent*. Tacitus, in Agricola, says the Caledonians were Germans.

^r See Wormius, Bartholin, and other Northern Antiquaries.

PART II.

The Southern Britons, between the rivers
Tweed and Forth, Solway and Clyde.

P. A. R. T. II.

The Southern States, between the years
1790 and 1800, John and Co.

P A R T II.

*The Southern Britons, between the rivers Tweed and
Forth, Solway and Clyde.*

C H A P T E R I.

Origins of the Southern Britons.

THE Southern part of Britain, now called England, was no doubt originally peopled from Gaul, at a time when the Celts, or primitive possessors of Gaul, held all that country, even up to the Rhine. These *Gael*, or first inhabitants of Britain, were driven into Ireland by another Celtic colony of the Cimbri, or *Cumri*, from Germany, remains of which exist in the present Cumri, or Welsh. The last, in their turn, were confined to the west and north parts of present England by the *Belgæ*, a third colony, who arrived from Belgic Gaul, and who, as descended of the Germans,

did not speak the Celtic, but the Gothic tongue. When Cæsar landed here, he tells us, he found Britain inhabited by two races of men, the *Belgæ* in the countries on the south-east ; and those he calls *Indigenes*, in the inner parts. The last were palpably the Welch, after called *Britones*, as the most ancient inhabitants : for all memory of the Gael, or real *Indigenes*, was unknown to the Roman and Saxon writers.

The bright page of Cæsar affords sufficient notice of the Second and Third of these Colonies ; but a reader of accuracy will ask what fact or authority is there for the First. Such a reader it is my sole ambition to please ; and I shall therefore give him the facts which have convinced me, tho little credulous in points of this nature. Every reader will allow that the Roman, and much more the Saxon writers were too late, and too unacquainted with the Cumraig language and traditions to attain knowlege of an event which must have happened near a thousand years before the time of Cæsar. This event must therefore be sought among the Cimbri themselves, who expelled these Gael ; and it was so vast, and must have left such traces behind, that we may safely trust them with it. Now Lloyd, a man perfectly versed in the Welch language and antiquities, is our chief guide to this fact. For in his *Archæologia*^a, he tells us much of the *Guydhelians*, as he calls them, being but a Welch pronunciation of *Gael*, or *Gadbel*, the Gauls ; and says they inhabited all England and Wales before the Welch came into the island and expelled them : and he adds, that these Guydhelians, or real Aborigines, doubtless came from Gaul to this island. This fact Mr. Lloyd seems to put beyond a doubt, by remarking that in Wales itself many names of rivers and mountains are Gaelic, not Cumraig ; and must have been imposed by more ancient in-

^a Preface.

habitants than the Cumri or Welsh. Mr. Macpherson^b also has well remarked the three colonies above stated, of Gael, Cimbri, and Belgæ, tho he mistakes the Belgæ for Celts.

The Roman writers derived almost their whole ideas of Britain from the Belgæ, who possessed the south parts. As it was natural to think that Britain had first been peopled from Gaul, and the Belgæ knew of no colony preceding the Cimbri, whom they found in possession, it is no wonder that these Cimbri passed with the Romans, who paid as little attention to the two races inhabiting Britain, as we do to two Indian nations, for the real Indigenes, or first Gaulic colony. Cæsar and Tacitus may be regarded as the only ancient writers who could possibly illustrate this question: the former being in Britain himself; the later, if he did not attend Agricola, lived long in Belgic Gaul as Procurator, and had great opportunities of intelligence. Yet has Britain been most unfortunate in Roman accounts, for Cæsar left the island before much discovery; and Tacitus is so brief and abstract, that he of all writers affords least materials for such enquiry. He is the eagle of history; and keeps such a sublime tract, that particulars often escape his notice.

Yet let us consider a moment the accounts of Cæsar and Tacitus. The former begins his description thus: "The inner part of Britain is possessed by those who are reported to have been produced in the island itself; the maritime part by those who have passed from Belgic Gaul, for the sake of war and prey^c." The rest of his description,

^b Introduction to the History of Britain and Ireland.

^c *Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt: maritima pars ab iis qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa, ex Belgio transierunt, &c. lib. V.* Britain was unmolested by the Romans after this till the time of Claudius, or for near a century, during which the Belgæ were always gaining ground. Cæsar, as Tacitus observes, only saw Britain; and it is doubtful, if Tacitus saw it: yet they are the only writers in the least capable of giving us authentic information.

and actions in Britain, refer solely to the Belgæ. Of the Cimbri he knew nothing but, as above expressed, that there were reputed Indigenes in the inner part of the island. He says nothing of Druids in his British transactions, nor of any thing that can apply to a Celtic people. Yet, in the next book, describing the manners of the Gauls, and after those of the Germans, he says, that *in omni Gallia*, 'in all Gaul,' there were two races of men, the people who were held as mere slaves, and another class comprizing the Equites, or Knights, and Druids: and that the Druidic discipline was thought to have been invented in Britain, and brought from thence to Gaul; and that those, who wished to study it much, went to Britain for that purpose. Now in the very beginning of his work, he tells us *Gallia omnis*, 'all Gaul', was divided into three parts, one inhabited by the Belgæ, one by the Aquitani, one by the Celtæ, *qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ nostra Galli appellantur*, also then called Gauls in special by the Romans, as being the Original people of Gaul. *Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus, inter se differunt*: 'all these differ in speech, customs, and laws.' Yet in describing the customs of Gaul, he puts all as the same. Has he not herein palpably contradicted himself? Or is the fact this, that his *omnis Gallia* of the Sixth book is quite different from his *omnis Gallia* of the first; the former applying solely to the Celtæ, who were peculiarly called Galli, in his time, as Cæsar says? He tells us, lib. ii. c. 4. *Belgas esse ortos a Germanis*, 'that the Belgæ sprung from the Germans,' or, in other words, they were Germans. The *omnis Gallia* of the Sixth book, is Gallia proper, Celtic Gaul, where alone Druids could exist; for he mentions, in describing the Germans in the next page, that they had no Druids, *neque Druides habent*. The Belgæ had of course no Druids, neither in Gaul, nor Britain. The Celts, or Galli proper, had; and it was from the Celts of the west of Britain, that this discipline, according

according to Cæsar, came. Cæsar uses *Gallus*, *Gallica*, quite laxly, and indiscriminately, as we use *Indian*. In mentioning the people of Kent, he says, *neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine*, 'in customs they differ little from the Gallic : ' yet they were Belgæ, and of course he means the customs of Belgic Gaul. The word *Gallus* applies among the Romans to Belgium, Aquitania, Celtica, Gallia Braccata, Cisalpine Gaul, all together, or either of them : the word *Britannus* applies with the ancients to Cimbri, Belgæ, Caledones or Piks. It is from circumstances we must determine distinctly what distance, that renders all objects indistinct, made indiscriminate to them. We in Europe speak of Indians in the East, and in America : those who reside in East India, or in America, speak of many distinct nations in these countries, totally different in origin, speech, and manners. Great confusion has arisen from not attending to this. For instance, we know that those Gauls, who took Rome, ravaged Greece, and settled in Asia, under the title of Galatæ, were of Cisalpine Gaul : and that the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul, and of Gallia Braccata, and of Belgium, the only Gauls who figure in history, were all Germans, and not one Celt among them. Yet are they called Celts ; tho the Senones, who took Rome, were the very Semnones of the south of Germany ; tho the Celts wore no braccæ, or breeches, the grand badge of Germans ; tho we know from Cæsar, and Strabo^d, that the Belgæ were Germans : tho, in short, the Celtæ were confined to the most remote part of Gaul, and could not defend themselves against the Germans, and Iberi, far less make any conquests abroad.

^d Strabo shews the Belgic manners to have been quite German ; and says risibly, that the Germans were so called by the Romans, as being *Germani*, or brothers German of the Belgic Gauls. Lib. IV.

Tacitus next merits consideration. He describes Britain in his *Agricola*; and, like Cæsar, confounds all the Gauls, so that we do not know whether he means Belgæ, or Celtæ. He mentions three races of men in Britain, the Germans in Caledonia; the Silures, who were Celts, of Wales and Cornwall^c; the Galli opposite to Gaul. It is remarkable that he also mentions no Druids in Britain, save in the Fourteenth book of his *Annals*, when describing the attack of Suetonius Paullinus upon Mona, or Anglesey. *Proximi Gallis et similes sunt*, 'the Britons next Gaul, resemble the Gauls,' is all we can get from Tacitus, to our present purpose. In his *Germania* he uses *Gallica lingua*, palpably for the Gaelic, or Celtic; and he finds the Estii, a people of present Prussia, to have a speech resembling the *British*. They were in all appearance remains of the old Cimbri, and spoke the Cumraig; for, had he meant the Belgic British, it was actual German, so could not be distinguished in Germany. This is the only faint hint we have, that Tacitus knew there was a peculiar British tongue, neither spoken in Germany nor Gaul; and which was palpably that of Cæsar's Indigenes, the Cimbri. Tacitus seems to have known nothing of Britain save the coasts. Had Suetonius Paullinus written his own campaigns, and been a man of observation like Cæsar, we should have known the rest upon Roman authority, as well as we know the south inhabited by the Belgæ, from Cæsar, and the north inhabited by their German Brethren, from Tacitus.

^c Tacitus, misled by the old opinion of Cæsar, and others, that Spain lay on the *west* of Britain and Ireland, hints an idea that the Silures came from Spain, but instantly retracts it, and infers them of Celtic Gaul, tho' indeed Cumraig Celts. The *torti crines et colorati vultus*, 'curled hair, and brown faces,' which also led him to think the Silures Spaniards, belong to the Celts of Wales, Ireland, Scotland, at this day; who have black curled hair, and brown faces; those few among them who have fair faces, and red, or light hair, the grand features of the Goths, are of Gothic extract.

Of the middle, Cæsar seems to have known more than Tacitus. Indeed, the Romans despised Britain, and afford us poor materials concerning it. Strabo, lib. II. p. 115. echoes their contempt, saying, that it is an ile of no use, and its people not to be feared. No wonder then that their accounts are quite brief, and inaccurate. All its people were alike savages to them: their various tongues and manners they did not care to know.

To this is owing a great deficiency in the accounts of Roman Britain, namely, that we cannot fix the bounds between the Belgæ and the Cimbri, the Gothic part of the inhabitants and the Celtic. Mr. Whitaker, who mistakes the Belgæ also for Celts, attempts to mark their territories^f, but with his usual fancy, and ingenious aberration from good sense. He constantly refers to his authorities; but, upon consulting them, the reader will find that an overheated imagination *bends its eye on vacancy*, and sees every thing where cool judgment sees nothing. From Cæsar and Tacitus no positive help can be derived on this subject. The whole south of England was possessed by the Belgæ, save Devonshire and Cornwall, in which, and the south half of Wales, dwelled the SILURES, a numerous people in two nations, the *Dumnonii* southmost, and the *Demetæ* in south Wales^g. That the Dumnonii were Silures, appears clear from this, that Tacitus says the Silures live opposite to Spain, and the Dumnonii were in fact the only people opposite to Spain. The chief of the Scilly isles is also called Silura by Solinus, and the present name seems to spring from it. Beside, the Silures are mentioned as a vast people, like the Belgæ and Cimbri,

^f History of Manchester, and Genuine History of the Britons.

^g In Richard's book, always to be cautiously used, we find Cimbri among the Silures; but from his own words, *utrumne vero modernum Walliæ nomen dederint*. &c. it is clear that he has confounded a Generic name with that of a tribe, owing probably to the confused manner of old maps.

and must of course have had various tribes ; for, if only one tribe in South Wales, as supposed, Tacitus would not have mentioned them as a distinct race, for they would have been too minute for notice.

Toward the north, if i mistake not, the Belgæ extended to the Humber, as to the Severn on the west. Mr. Whitaker opposes this, and almost confines them to the south of the Thames ; because, says he, Cæsar places them in the maritime parts. Strange that Mr. W. forgot that England has maritime parts on the east, as well as on the south ; and that the east parts were more opposite to the Belgic coast of the continent, than the south ! As all allow the country south of the Thames, and west to the mouth of the Severn and Devonshire, to have been in the hands of the Belgæ, i shall not examine Mr. Whitaker's revelations as to their progress in this quarter, save in one point as a specimen. Cæsar says that the Belgic tribes in Britain retained generally the names of their original tribes in Gaul. Mr. W. who forgot that Cæsar speaks of Belgic, or German, Gaul, dreams that this refers to Celtic Gaul ; and is so absurd as to call the *Bebroces* and *Atrebates* aboriginal Britons or Gael, because their names are found in Gaul ! True ; but it is in Belgic Gaul ; where, if you look into any map prefixed to a school Cæsar, you will find them. The *Morini* are also in Belgic Gaul. The *Segontiaci*, of Hampshire, seem the *Sueconi* of Belgic Gaul, bordering on the *Atrebates* there as here : see Cluverius. The *Hedui*, on the mouth of the Severn, alone remain disputed. Mr. W. will have them aboriginal Gael, because there were *Aedui* in Celtic Gaul. Richard of Cirencester, as published by Bertram, is ^{the} sole authority for these *Hedui*, and little to be trusted ; yet, if i mistake not, Mr. Bertram has redd *Hedui* for *Hessui*. The *Hedui* were quite to the south of Gaul, and surrounded on all hands with hundreds of warlike nations, whence it is improbable, if not impossible, that they

they could come to Britain. The Effui (see Cæsar, lib. V. and the geographers) were in Belgic Gaul, between the Atrebates and Morini, exactly as these Hedui here. We may therefore most safely read Hefui.

Let us now proceed to the north of the Thames. The *Trinobantes* of Essex, Mr. Whitaker, and all, grant to be Belgæ. The disputed nations therefore are only the *Cassii*, *Boduni*, *Cenomanni*, *Iceni*, and *Coritani*, being all between the Thames and Humber. The *Cassii* were surely part of the *Vello Cassi* of Belgic Gaul, who were the *Cassi*, with an epithet. Besides, the very name of Londinium, or London, shews that they were a Gothic people: *Lunden* being the capital of Anglen in Denmark, whence the English came: and another *Lunden* in Schonen is esteemed the most ancient city in the northern kingdoms. The name is thought to be from the Gothic *Lund*, a wood: *Lund-dun*, a fort, or town in a wood. The *Chassi* were also a German people, as Cluverius shews. To the *Boduni* i can find no similar name in Gaul, save that of Boduognatus, general of the Nervii, a Belgic tribe. The *Budini*, a Scythian people, in Herodotus, resemble it: as does *Boda*, in Blanckenburg of Germany, *Bodumna* a peninsula of Jutland, *Bodon* in Mæsia; all Gothic names but little to the purpose; tho it must be added, that no similar names occur in Celtic Gaul. The *Cenomanni*, however, occur in Celtic Gaul; but *manni* is a termination quite unknown to any other Celtic nation. At the same time, tho they were in Celtic Gaul, they may have been a Belgic tribe, who, upon some pique, went over to the enemy, and had lands assigned to them, as usual among barbarous nations. The Belgæ had many settlements in Celtic Gaul, as the Veneti, for instance, even in its extremity, who were Belgæ, as Strabo informs, lib. IV. Names in *manni* are all Gothic, as Alamanni, Marcomanni, &c. The *Iceni*

Bodobrica
the Imperia
Itinerary
Notitia
a city of Belg
Gaul
see corrected
lxxxiv/p. 29

Iceni seem to have been Belgæ, from about the *Icius portus*; and who, migrating wholly into Britain, left no trace behind but that name. It was after called also *Bonona*; and it is remarkable, that *Benonæ* was a town of the *Iceni*. The *Coritani* seem also to have been Belgæ. Their city is by Richard called *Ratis-Corion*, a Gothic name, as appears from Ratisbon, Ratzeburg, Ratisboda, &c. &c. in Germany,

Nay the *Brigantes*, on the north of the Humber, may well be suspected a German nation. *Brigantium* in Spain, with a town of the same name on the *Lacus Brigantinus* in Vindelicia, were Gothic, not Celtic; as is the common German term, *brig*, or *berg*, 'a town.' Strabo and Stephanus Byzantinus tell, that *briga* or *bria* signified a town in the Thracic, Getic, or Gothic language. (See Part IV. ch. i.)

No ancient authority can be brought against the above theory. Cæsar and Tacitus rather confirm it. Cæsar mentions that many nations beyond the Thames joined with Cassivellaunus, leader of the southern tribes, to oppose him. The Cimbri would rather have wished the destruction of the Belgæ; their worst enemies, who had seized their possessions. I must not leave the Belgæ without hinting, that, as Pliny places a people called *Britanni*^b in Belgic Gaul, it is highly probable these

^b Harduin says, that all MSS. bear *Britanni*. Their situation was about Abbeville in Picardy; and Sanfon has written a book upon them, followed by Carte. Both these writers risibly use a passage, which Strabo gives as a specimen of ancient ignorance, as a piece of ancient information, namely, that Britain was thought a city of Gaul! See Strabo IV. Mr. Whitaker as oddly confounds these with the people of Bretagne, who are as distant as the west is from the east. The passage of Sulpicius Severus is interpolated, as noted in the edition of Vorstius and Le Clerc. Sidonius Apollinaris, about 480, is the first real authority for Britons in Bretagne, *super Ligerim*; and there is a curious epistle of his to Riothamus, their king.

Britanni were of the first Belgæ who passed into this island, and gave a general name to the whole, tho they themselves afterward split into different nations. The first name of Britain, was Albion, as it long continued to be called. The name Britain must to all appearance be sought for in the Belgic, the Gothic, tongue.

Upon the whole, the Cumri were apparently confined to the west of Britain, and that part between the Walls. The south and east were held by Belgæ, and perhaps other Germans, long before Cæsar's time. Nay, even in the parts still inhabited by Celts, the Germans had, no doubt, many settlements; as the European settlers in America have not only large tracts wholly peopled by themselves, but also towns and forts among the savages. Thus in Gaul the Veneti, in the western extremity of Celtica, were Belgæ, as Strabo informs: and in the extreme west of Britain, stood Menapia, a town of the very same name with one among the Scythians, or Goths, beyond the Caspian, as we learn from Ptolemy. The conquest of Europe by the Goths, on the fall of the Roman empire, was the second, not the first, as shewn in the annexed Dissertation. At least three centuries before Christ, the Scythians, or Goths, had subdued, and peopled, Europe, even to it's furthest extremities, as there fully displayed. In Britain, the Cumraig, or Welch, was called *lingua Britannica*, as in Gaul, the Celtic was called *Gallica*, not as being the universal tongue, but as the old and peculiar speech of the earlier inhabitants. By *American languages* we imply not Spanish or English, but those of the ancient natives.

When the Piks and Irish broke in upon the North, the Cimbri, who held these parts, were the most exposed. The Belgæ had also been so lost in the luxuries of Rome, that they seem to have totally abandoned their character of the bravest of the Gauls,

Gauls, and could not exist without Roman protection, being by long habit quite disused to arms. The Jutes, Saxons, Angli, were really the Gothic brethren of the Belgæ, but finding them so defenceless, usurped the power. Admitting the Belgæ only to the offices of *coloni* and *villani*, their natural enmity to the Cumri, or Celts, induced them to give them no quarter, till driven to the barren rocks of the west; after an extermination of near a third, and expulsion to France, and Ireland, of near another. But the Belgæ seem to have amounted to at least three millions; whereas the conquerors never appear to have exceeded 100,000. Hence the Belgic tongue must in time have prevailed, as the *Lingua Romana Rustica* in France, Italy, and Spain: and the old language of England is not Anglo-Saxon, but Anglo-Belgic. The numerous *coloni*, and slaves of the Saxons, even down to the Norman invasionⁱ, surprise our writers, who know the Welch were expelled, but forget that such a people as the Belgæ existed. No traces of Welch names, &c. being found among the Saxons, these numerous *Coloni* must all have been Belgæ, who by intermarriages, &c. gradually changed their fortunes; so that, before the Norman times, the Saxons and Belgæ had nearly coalesced into one people: tho even then Doomsday book shews, that the *Coloni* and *Villani* possessed the far greater part of the lands in England. Most of the Romans in Britain were stationed at the walls; and they had also different colonial towns: but, as we know from Gildas, Beda, &c. that they utterly abandoned the island long before the Saxons came, it is no wonder that no traces of Romans should occur in the Saxon Laws, tho so frequent in the other Gothic Codes. The Roman language seems to have been very

ⁱ See Doomsday book; Wilkins's *Leges Saxonice*; Brady, Carte, and Hume, their abridger; Stuart on the English Constitution, &c. &c.

little used by either Belgians, or Welch. The Old Saxon, and the Welch, have not many Latin words. Tacitus, in *Agricola*, tells us indeed, that the *fili principes* of Britain used the Latin : and it seems to have been ever confined to the upper ranks ; for all Roman Britain did not produce one Latin author, tho Spain and Gaul did many ; as Mela, Lucan, Seneca, Martial, Sidonius, Aufonius, and others.

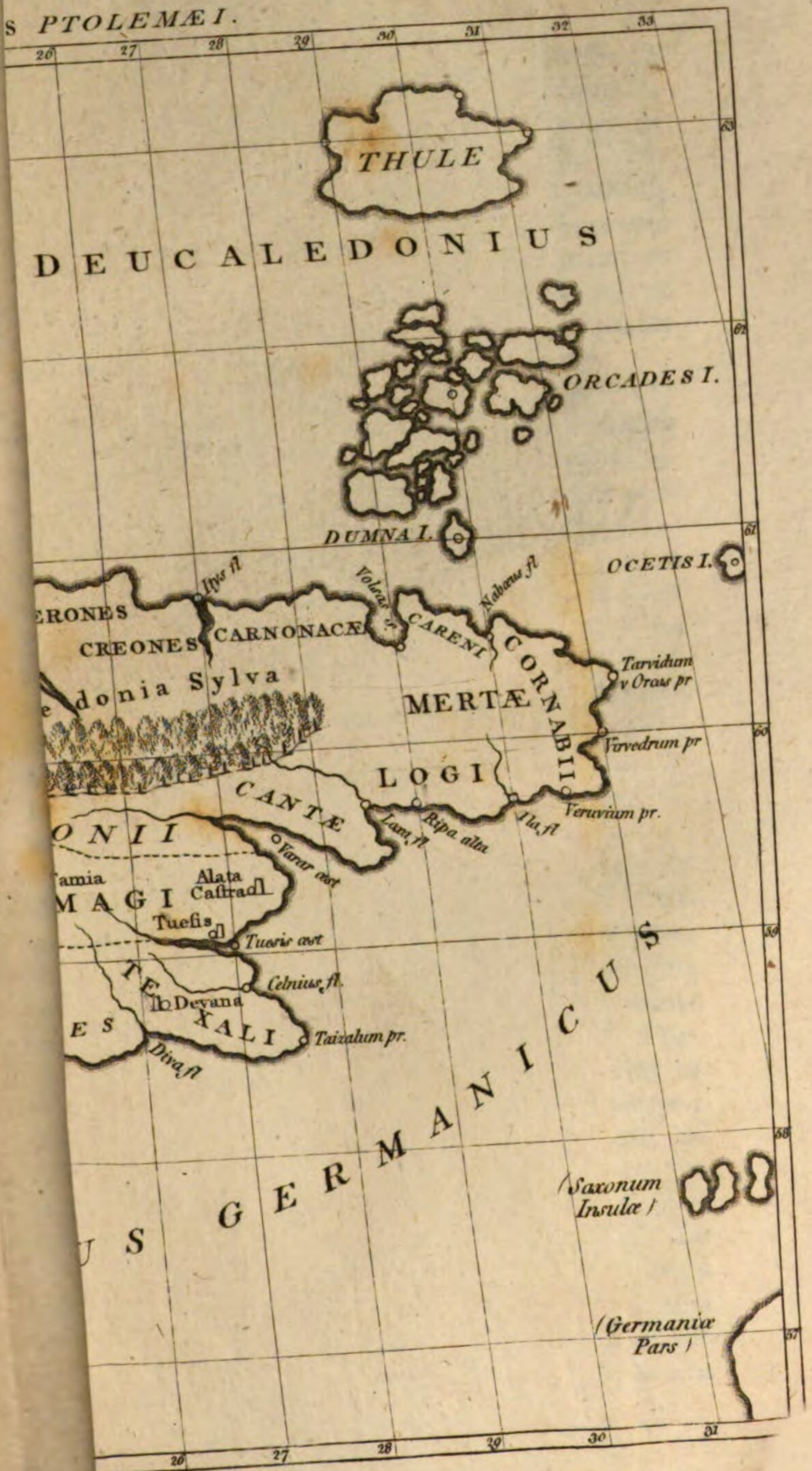
CHAPTER II.

*The Tribes between the Tweed and Forth, Solway
and Clyde.*

THE tribes possessing that part of Scotland, which lyes south of the Clyde and Forth, were Four in number, namely, the *Selgovæ*, *Novantæ*, *Damnii*, and *Otadeni*. So they stood in Ptolemy's time, who wrote about 150 years after our æra.

That these tribes were all Cimbric, or Welch, is clear from Gildas, Beda, and others; and from the remains of them in the kingdom of Strat-Clyde. The *Britons* of Gildas and Beda, as all know, are the Welch, the people whom Cæsar thought born in the island, as the Romans and Saxons knew nothing of the real aborigines, the Gael, who had all been driven to Ireland by the Welch long before the arrival of the former. Now Gildas and Beda mark the Forth and Clyde, as the old boundaries between the Caledonians or Piks, and the Britons. They are indeed mistaken if they meant that these rivers were the boundaries, when Agricola discovered Caledonia to the Romans. For at that time, and till the province of Vespasiana was abandoned by the Romans, the river Tay, on the east; the many lakes Tay, Erne, Veol, Ketterin, Lomond, in the middle; and Loch Fyn, an arm of the sea, on the west; formed the boundary between the Caledonians or Piks, and Cumraig Britons. Tacitus mentions, that Agricola wasted the country up to Tay, three years before he marched against the Caledonians; and after his victory over
Galgacus

S PTOLEMÆI.





Galgacus returned to the country of the Horesti, in Fifeshire, who are not mentioned as Caledonians. Ptolemy also mentions the Lelamoniæ Sinus, or Loch Fyn, as the southern boundary of the Caledonians. But more of this presently, in speaking of the Damnii. After the province Vespasiana was abandoned, in the second century, the Caledonians or Picts, seized all the country down to the wall of Antoninus, or Clyde and Forth; whence Gildas and Beda regard these rivers as the boundary.

Ptolemy's geography of Scotland is peculiarly embarrassed; and, by his bending that country to the east, his whole longitudes and latitudes become false of course. Richard of Cirencester preserves the real position of the country; but what dependence, in such matters, can be had upon a writer of the Fourteenth century? He differs from Ptolemy in many essential points, concerning England and Ireland, as well as Scotland: and, wherever he does so, must by every rule of historic authority be presumed in the wrong, for to set his authority against that of Ptolemy would be the height of absurdity. All we can do therefore is, to adjust Ptolemy's account as well as possible.

Richard places a fifth tribe, the *Gadeni*, on the south of the Forth; whereas Ptolemy puts them on the north of Clyde, in present Dunbartonshire. It is sufficient to say, that Ptolemy must be right, and Richard must be wrong; for the later compared with the former is no authority at all. Ptolemy's text expressly bears, that the *Gadeni* lay to the north of the *Damnii*, Γαδῆνοι δὲ ἀρκτικωτεροι; whereas Richard places them on the south-east of the *Damnii*. Ptolemy supposes the north, to be the east of Scotland; and, of course, his *north* is the west, not the east, as Richard infers. By Ptolemy's longitudes and latitudes, and the maps drawn in consequence of his description, the *Gadeni* are on the east, that is, the north in reality, of the

Κλωτα εἰς χυσις, or Firth of Clyde. Richard makes Curia the town of the Gadeni, whereas Ptolemy gives it to the Otadeni; and I suspect Richard has been misled by a hasty perusal of Ptolemy's text, which runs in this order,

‘ The Gadeni are more northward: the Otadeni more south; among whom are these towns,
Curia,
Bremenium.’

All interpreters agree that these two towns belong to the Otadeni; and not one of them, Curia to the Gadeni, and the other Bremenium, to the Otadeni, as Richard understands. From both Ptolemy and Richard, it is clear, that Curia lay far south of Forth; and could never belong to the Gadeni, whom Ptolemy places north of Clyde. The position of all the other tribes laid down by Ptolemy agrees with Richard, if you only turn up Ptolemy's map, so as to make his east the north. One cause of Richard's error was his taking Curia for a town of the Gadeni, as just mentioned. Another is, that he puts the Attacotti too far south-east, in place of Ptolemy's Gadeni, while the Attacotti were not in Caledonia till 258, as after shewn, when they came from Ireland; and are unknown in Roman history till the fourth century. Hence Richard, having no room for the Gadeni in their real station, was forced to imagine another place for them. Whereas, if we suppose Richard right in placing the Gadeni south of Forth, a blank will be left in Ptolemy between Clota and Lelamoni, while all the rest of his Caledonia is duly filled. No one the least versant in such matters, can for a moment put Richard's authority against Ptolemy's; but, when so many other arguments favour Ptolemy, it would be absurd even to doubt: and we may regard it as fixt, that the Gadeni were on the north of the Clyde.

Let us therefore consider the Four Tribes, south of Forth and Clyde. To begin on the west side, and from the south, first were the ΣΕΛΓΟΥΑΙ, *Selgovæ*, in Dunfries-shire, part of Kircudbright, &c. In their territories, Ptolemy mentions these towns Καρβαντοριγον, *Carbantorigum*; Ουξελον, *Uxellum*; Κορδα, *Corda*; and Τριμοντιον, *Trimontium*. The first is thought Kircudbright, the second Castle Over; the third was the most northern town of the *Selgovæ*, but cannot be fixt; the fourth, it is thought, lay near Eildon Hills, which have three remarkable summits, and where there are ruins of a Roman station. Among the *Selgovæ* were also the Ιτουνα εισχυσις, *Ituna æstuarium*, or Solway Firth; and the rivers Νοβιος and Δηουα, *Novius* and *Deva*, or Nith and Dee.

Next on the west were the ΝΟΥΑΝΤΑΙ, *Novantæ*, in Wigton-shire, and the south of Airshire; who had two towns Λουκοπιβια, *Leucopibia*, and Ρετιγονιον, *Retigonium*. The former certainly Whithern, as Richard rightly says, *Candida Casa*. The second apparently Stranrawer. The *Novantæ* also had on the south the Ιενα εισχυσις, *Iena æstuarium*, now Wigton bay; and Αβραουαννος ποταμος, *Abra-vannus fluvius*, or more properly *Sinus*, as Richard, now Glenluce bay. On the west the Νουαντων Χερσονησος, *Novantum Chersonesus*, now the Rinns of Galloway; the Ρετιγονιος Κολπος, *Rerigonius Sinus*, now Loch Ryan. As the town *Retigonium* stood on this bay, and gave it name, either the bay or town is erroneously called; and Richard terms the town *Rerigonium*, rightly as would seem. The *Novantæ* had also the Ουιδογαραι Κολπος, *Vidogara Sinus*, believed to be Air Bay.

The ΔΑΜΝΙΟΙ, *Damnii*, were next on the north of the two former. This nation was by far the most important of the four; and possessed the north of present Airshire, Renfrew, Lanark, Linlithgow, and Stirling, shires. They were the frontier na-

tion of Cumraig Britons ; and on the north of them were the Caledonians or Piks. The wall of Antoninus, as is clear from Ptolemy and Richard, ran thro the territories of the Damnii : and the later says, that the Damnii in consequence lost all their territory on the north of that wall, which was seized by the Caledonians. The Damnii, by Ptolemy's account, had no less than six towns; Κολωνία, *Colania* ; Ουανδουαρά, *Vandudara* ; Κορία, *Coria* ; Αλαύνα, *Alauna* ; Λινδον, *Lindum* ; Ουικτορία, *Victoria*. Richard gives the three last towns to the Horesti ; but adds, that before the wall of Antonine was built, the Horesti were esteemed part of the Damnii. In fact the Horesti of Tacitus are unknown to Ptolemy, who marks their towns as of the Damnii ; and it is apparent, that the Caledonians were not possessed of Fifeshire, or the land of the Horesti, till after the province of Vespasiana was abandoned. Tacitus mentions, that Agricola wasted the country up to Tay, three years before he went against the Caledonians ; and that after conquering Galgacus, and his Caledonians, he went back to the lands of the Horesti, and it appears that the Horesti were not Caledonians. By Ptolemy's description, the Caledonians began on the south, at the Sinus Lelamonius, or Loch Fyn. Of the above towns Colania is thought Lanerk ; Vandudara, Paisley ; Coria, Borthwick Castle ; Alauna, Kier near Stirling ; Lindum, Ardoch ; Victoria, Perth, or, according to others, Dalgin Ross. The Κλωτα εἰς χυσις, *Clota æstuarium*, or firth of Clyde, was in the territory of the Damnii.

The ΟΤΑΔΗΝΟΙ, *Otadeni*, were in the Lothians, Berwickshire, Peebles, and Northumberland. They had two towns, Κούρια, *Curia* ; and Βρεμενιον, *Bremenium* ; both, as appears from Ptolemy and Richard, south of Tweed, the former somewhere in Roxburghshire ; the later is thought Rochester in Northumberland. It is surprizing that there were no towns

towns in the Lothians and Berwickshire, now the most fertile parts of Scotland. Among the Otadeni were the Βοδερία εἰς ἑρμῆς *Boderia æstuarium*, or firth of Forth, and river Ἀλαυνός, *Alaunus*, or Alne in Northumberland.

Of these tribes it is most likely that those on the south and east, the Selgovæ and Otadeni, were a continuation of those Cimbric nations which held all the north of present England. Those on the west, or the Damnii and Novantæ, we may well suppose, were a part of the old Cimbric inhabitants of the whole of Scotland; and who came into these parts, after their expulsion by the Picts, about 200 years before Christ, either finding the country vacant, or possessed by Gael, whom they expelled, or being allowed these provinces by their brethren in the south. The Damnii were perhaps the Tuath de Dannan, of the Irish Annals, who passed from Scotland into Ireland. The Novantæ seem merely a part of the Damnii, as the Trinobantes were of the Belgæ, and the Dumnonii of the Silures. The name Novantæ, if we for once believe the Celtic etymologists, means New-comers, or Strangers; and we may reasonably suppose it given to those Cumri of North Britain who first came down upon their brethren, the old possessors, and of course went furthest to the south.

Richard places a tribe called *Damnii Albani*, a people, he says, little known, and surrounded with lakes and mountains, in that part of Scotland, which lyes between Loch Tay, and Loch Lomond; in which indeed there are vast mountains, and about seven considerable lakes, Dochart, Erne, Veol, Lubnich, Ketterin, Archy, Venachar. It deserves great attention, that these Damnii Albani, and their neighbours, the *Attacotti*, are the only nations to be found in old Scotland which occur in Richard, and not in Ptolemy. This leads us to conclude with certainty, that neither of these nations

were in Scotland, in Ptolemy's time. The Attacotti, as shall be after shewn, were the Dalreudini, or first Irish settlers, mentioned by Beda, who were really the first Irish Scots, who ever settled there, and who were thence called by the Britons Atta-Cotti, or Hither-Scots, to distinguish them from the Scots of Ireland. The first settlement of the Attacotti, or Dalreudini in Scotland, happened about the year 258; and, as the Damnii Albani, and they, are the only nations in all Scotland mentioned by Richard, but unknown to Ptolemy, it is most reasonable to infer, that these Damnii Albani were a part of the Tuath de Dannan, which returned from Ireland, with the Attacotti, and were called Albani, or Mountaineers, to distinguish them from the other Damnii. At the same time, if any one chuses rather to believe that these Damnii had, in their country so inaccessible, because of mountains and lakes, as Richard says, defended themselves against the Picts, to a late period, there is little objection, save that this idea is not so probable as the former.

The Selgovæ seem to have acknowledged the superiority of the Brigantes, for in Annandale was found a statue inscribed to the Goddess Brigantia, as an inscription to her was found near Chester, another in Yorkshire; but war, or other accidents, may have transported these articles from one country to another. Tacitus informs us, in *Agricola*, that the Brigantes were the most numerous nation in Britain. That is, the Brigantes proper, with the many Celtic tribes subject to them. The Romans were also chiefly stationed in their country, along the wall of Hadrian. No wonder, then, that they were more known to the Romans than any people in Britain. Tacitus informs us, that it was in the time of Vespasian, that Petilius Cerialis subdued most of the Brigantes. Seneca in flattery ascribes the conquest of the Brigantes to Claudius, tho

tho the lieutenants of that prince only attacked the Brigantes, but did not subdue them.

Ille Britannos,	Scuta Brigantes	Nova Romanæ
Ultra vagi	Dare Romuleis	Jura securis
Littora ponti,	Colla catenis	11. Tremere Oceanum.
4. Et cæruleos	8. Jussit; et ipsum	

The Scuta Brigantes has puzzled the critics; and some absurdly propose to read *Scoto*^a. Juvenal, Sat. XIV. v. 197. mentions the *castella Brigantum*. These four tribes in the South of Scotland, the Selgovæ, Novantæ, Damnii, and Otadeni, seem all to have yielded to the Romans soon after Cerialis conquered the Brigantes; or, at any rate, in the first or second year of Agricola's command, for we find no mention of any battle fought with either of them, and Agricola began his northern progress in the third year of his command, by piercing to the Tay; as in the fourth he fortified the space between Clyde and Forth, and placed forces in that part of Scotland which is opposite to Ireland. If I mistake not, Tacitus has abridged the fame of Cerialis, thinking thereby to enhance that of Agricola, for he seems to have completely subdued the Brigantes.

After the wall of Hadrian was built, about 121, and that of Antoninus, about 140, the new name of MÆATÆ begins to arise for the nations between these walls. Etymology, when applied to names, which may have that origin among ten thousand which is least suspected by us, becomes sheer frenzy: that given of Mæatæ is plausible, as all these Celtic dreamers take care to make their etymologies, knowing that, the more foolish a pur-

^a The passage strikes at first as meaning 'with blue shields.' By poetic licence the singular may be used for the plural, and if so it should be *cæruleo scuto*. But by the same licence the passage may remain: Virgil has *cætera Græius* for *quod ad cætera*; so *cæruleos scuta*, *cæruleos quod ad scuta*: so *alia id genus*, and other phrases. It is a common Hellenism; *Συρος τ' ουνοςμα, και την πατρίδα*, where *κατα* is understood. See Grammarians.

suit is, it has the more need of a cloke of seeming decency to cover it. They say that in the Celtic this word means Midlanders, a name which might naturally spring from the situation of the people between the walls, and between Roman Britain on one side, and Caledonia on the other.

Ptolemy in 150 knew nothing of this new name: and Pausanias, who wrote about the same time, seems, in total ignorance of Britain, to call the Mæataë Brigantes. In the beginning of the reign of Marcus Antoninus, or about the year 164, there were commotions in Britain, which Calphurnius Agricola was sent to quell; as we learn from Capitolinus, in his Life of Marcus. It seems probable, that Calphurnius had no success: and that it was at this time that Vespasiana was left, if not the other province, north of Hadrian's wall. For no inscriptions but of the reign of Pius have been found at his wall; and soon after this, we find the tribes between the walls had thrown off the Roman yoke, and bore the independent name of Mæataë. Dio, in narrating the reign of Commodus, shews that, about the year 183, both the Caledonians and Mæataë had broken in upon the empire; and, after harrassing the provinces, killed a Roman general who opposed them. And that, tho repulsed by the general Marcellus, they continued in arms, till Severus the emperor came himself in 207 against them.

In relating the expedition of Severus, Dio mentions the Mæataë: and describes them and the Caledonians as the only nations in Britain not subject to Rome. The former acted under the protection of the later. Severus over-ran both the Mæataë and Caledonians, tho with the almost incredible loss of 50,000 men^b: a loss which no Roman

^b Dio lib. 76. but Dio is a false and ignorant author.

army ever sustained in any other expedition. Yet was he hardly returned to York, when the Caledonians first, as Dio says, and then the Mæataë, were again in arms. Invincible nations, will some say, and worthy to contend with Rome! But a more sober reader will rather wish that, for the lasting advantage of Scotland, every part of it had received, along with the yoke, the cultivation of Rome.

Severus dying at York in 211, his son Caracalla made a disgraceful peace with the Caledonians and Mæataë. "From that time forward," says Innes, "it appears the Caledonians possessed themselves of a part of the lands of the Mæataë, or, rather united to the Mæataë, shared in their possessions, to the south of the firths, till Theodosius reduced that country into a province about 370." I wish this accurate writer had mentioned his authority for this idea; for my part, i know of none: but this must be examined when we come to speak of the extent of the Piktish dominions.

Certain it is, that we find no mention of the Mæataë after this peace of Caracalla; hardly any thing being to be found concerning Britain, till 360, when we find the Piks acting in conjunction with the Scots or Irish. About the year 290, Carausius, and after him Constantius Chlorus, are said to have carried on war in the north of Britain. For the former we have no better authority than Nennius: but the later might be shewn from the Panegyrics. The Britons subdued by Constantius were in all appearance the Mæataë; and being nearest the Roman provinces, they must have borne the whole brunt of war; and appear, by this conflict, and irregular incursions of the Romans into their country, to have been extremely diminished, and confined to the north parts along the firths. The Piks upon this had recourse
to

to the alliance of the Old Scots of Ireland; and the Mæatae seem to have had no further concern in their expeditions, than by allowing them to pass their grounds into the Roman territory. About 370, Theodosius erecting the country of the Mæatae into the province of Valentia, the remains of these people soon became as peaceable as the southern Britons.

C H A P T E R III.

The Walls.

INNES, in his laudable Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of North Britain, has given an accurate account of the Roman Walls in Britain; and I shall in this list do little more than follow him. These walls were in two distant places; namely, between the Clyde and Forth, and between the Solway and Tine. The last properly belongs to England; but, as there is a necessary connection between them, both shall be considered together in chronological order.

1. Agricola, as Tacitus informs in his life, raised a line of forts between the firths of Clyde and of Forth, *Glotta* and *Bodotria*. So that *summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus*, ‘the enemies being removed as into another island^a,’ the whole of Britain south of these firths should be regarded as a quiet province. This was in the year 81.

2. That frontier was quickly lost, and Hadrian thought proper, in the year 121, to build a wall between Solway and Tine, thus retiring eighty miles. That Hadrian’s wall stood here is clear from Spartian, who says it was eighty miles long, whereas the space between Clyde and Forth exceeds not thirty. Nor has the situation of this

^a We are not hereby to understand that this line of forts formed the frontier between the Southern Britons and Caledonians; for the latter held only down to Tay and Loch Fyn, as above shewn. If Richard may be trusted, Agricola built *Victoria* on the Tay; and the space between the line of Forts and the Caledonians was surely, at any rate, an advanced frontier, guarded by stations of light troops, as was afterward the case when the wall of Antoninus was built.
wall

wall been questioned; as inscriptions put it beyond a doubt.

3. ANTONINUS PIUS recovered the first barrier by the great success of Lollius Urbicus his general; and a wall was built on the line of Agricola's forts, between the Clyde and Forth. This wall of Antoninus, built about the year 140, was soon abandoned, for, as Horsley observes, not an inscription has ever been found near it but what refers to Antoninus Pius and his reign.

4. In 210 Severus again withdrew the boundary, and built a new wall between Solway and Tine. For that this was the place of his wall appears from the historians, as Innes shews. Buchanan, and others, are therefore mistaken in placing it between Clyde and Forth.

5. In 367, the emperor Valentinian I. sent over Theodosius his general (father of Theodosius I.) to Britain, against the Picts and Scots; who not only repelled them, but seized on the lands between the walls, and erected them into a province by the name of Valentia. He strongly fortified its northern border, between Clyde and Forth; and, as Richard says, built Theodosia, or Dunbarton, as a strong hold and frontier town. Hence this was considered by Beda, and others, as the grand limit between the Britons and Picts.

6. Stilicho, as Claudian informs, added fortifications to this barrier, about 398.

7. The Romans having abandoned Britain about the year 409, the Britons, about 421, requested their assistance against the Picts and Scots. They arrived, and repelled the enemy; and caused the Britons to build a turf wall on the march, between Clyde and Forth, as the former had been thrown down. Beda, *lib. I. c. 12.* gives a distinct account of this wall, which reached from Alclud, or Dunbarton, to a place about two miles west of Abercorn, called, as Beda says, Peanvahal in the Pictish tongue, Peneltun in Saxon. Nennius say

says, it was called Pengaul (in British), Cenail in Scottish, or Irish, Peneltun in English : this place where the wall ends, is now, as Gordon says, called Cair-in, and is just two miles west of Abercorn. But Gordon confounds the wall of Antoninus with this wall.

8. The last, and most important, wall ever built in Britain, according to Beda's account, was that raised by the Romans, who again under the command of GALLIO came to assist the Britons against their old enemies, the Picts and Scots, about the year 426. This was of solid stone, and built between the Solway and Tine, as Beda says ; who adds that it ran hard by Hagustaldum, or Hexham, in Northumberland. Gildas^b says of this wall, that it passed *a mari usque ad mare, inter urbes quæ ibidem forte ob metum hostium collocatæ fuerunt*, 'from sea to sea among the towns which had been erected there, for fear of the enemy.' These towns were the Roman stations on the southern wall.

Thus, of these walls, FIVE were on the Northern frontier, or between the Clyde and Forth in Scotland : and THREE were in England, between Solway and Tine.

These Three Southern Walls were raised by Hadrian, Severus, and Gallio : the first as would seem of turf ; for Capitolinus, mentioning the wall

^b Cap. 14. murum (non ut alterum) SUMPTU PUBLICO PRIVATOQUE, adjunctis secum miserabilibus indigenis, solito structuræ more, tramite a mari, &c. This passage, like all the dark Celtic work of Gildas, is confused and obscure : *non ut alterum* refers to the turf wall, cap. 12. *solito*, i suspect, should be *solido*. Beda uses the words of Gildas, *a mari ad mare recto tramite inter urbes*, &c. and adds FIRMO DE LAPIDE. Gildas describing the turf wall, 421, c. 12. says, it was erected *trans insulam* ; and Keith, in the preface to his Scottish Bishops, foolishly infers thence, that Caledonia was considered as another island ; forgetting that *trans* implies *across*, as well as *beyond*. Our antiquists ought to be advised, not to apply classic interpretation to writers not classic ; but to study the *media et infima Latinitas*.

of Pius, says, *alio muro cespititio*, ‘another turf wall,’ which implies the former, or that of Hadrian, to have been also of turf. These turf walls had foundations, and towers of stone; and large ditches. The wall of Severus was thought to be of stone, as Aurelius Victor puts it as a greater work than all his conquests; which would have been ridiculous, if he only repaired the turf wall of Hadrian. If so, Gallio seems only to have repaired the wall of Severus. But of this after.

The Five Northern Walls begin with Agricola’s line of forts, then the turf wall of Antoninus; next that of Theodosius, which seems but a reparation; the additional forts of Stilicho; and the turf wall of the Britons. There never was a stone wall here; and that ascribed to Severus seems the only stone wall erected.

The wall of Severus is a singular monument; for, tho he had penetrated to the very extremity of Caledonia, yet he was contented to resign a large tract of country; while there seems no reason against his building the wall at the Northern frontier. The glory of building a long wall certainly was not equal to the shame of resigning a territory; so that vanity could not be his inducement. Yet his historians say he acquired territory. A palpable contradiction! If any writer were to deny that Severus built any wall, it would be difficult to answer him; for certain it is, that both Herodian and Dio, who wrote so near his time, are utterly silent about this glory of his reign. Spartian, a weak writer in the time of Diocletian, near a century after Severus, is the first who mentions it; and what the state of historic knowledge then was may be judged from the beginning of the life of Probus, by Vopiscus, in the same Collection^c. Vopiscus is the best of these authors, and lived under Diocletian; and he says that, for want of writers,

^c Hist. Augustæ Scriptores.

the actions and memory of Probus had almost perished ! That is in a space of *twelve* or *fourteen* years !

Yet it must be considered, that the tract between the walls might be regarded itself as a real advanced frontier, to be inhabited by his subjects, at their risk, but upon no account to be entered by the enemy. These Roman Walls seem by no means to have been the direct and absolute frontiers, but only protections for the agricultors, and peaceful subjects. Beyond them were apparently exploratory camps, and stations ; and large bodies of men, who lived by hunting and fishing, and had no property to raise their fears. If we trust Richard, there was a whole province, Vespasiana, beyond the wall of Antoninus. Horsley observes, from inscriptions, &c. that the Romans, even in the time of Severus, possessed grounds north of his wall. According to all appearance therefore, tho Severus might build this wall, yet he regarded that of Antoninus as the actual direct frontier. He might build his wall, to protect the cultivated lands ; leaving his soldiers, and some roving Britons, to guard themselves, without the wall, or within it, at pleasure. Caracalla was forced after his father's death, in 211, to make a disgraceful peace with the Caledonians ; and to give up part of what his father had gained^c.

The Northern frontier was never held for any time. The forts of Agricola were abandoned in a short space. Hadrian, in 121, built the South wall. Antoninus, after the Picts had been driven back,

^c Mr. Gordon, in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, takes the Catrail, running from Melrose, southwest, for the boundary fixt by Caracalla ; but it is necessary to inform the reader, that Gordon unhappily took a way for a wall. See Remarks on the Catrail, in the *Reliquiæ Galearæ*. General Roy, who has examined the Roman antiquities in Scotland with great care, found no wall where Gordon marks ; but a military road. See his *Description of Roman Antiquities in Scotland*, with fine drawings, MS. in the Royal Library, 2 vols. folio.

built the North wall, about 140, which seems to have remained the barrier only for about the remaining space of his reign, or 21 years, for no later inscriptions have been found. In 211 Caracalla withdrew the frontier. In 367 it was first placed for any time at the Northern wall, and continued till 426, when it was again drawn South.

Theodosius, in 367, may be regarded as the chief acquirer of the territory between the walls; and he erected it into a province, which was held till the Romans finally abandoned Britain. After the Christian religion was embraced by Constantine, few or no Roman inscriptions are to be found, as may be seen in Gruter. It is therefore no wonder that no inscriptions of, or after, the time of Theodosius should be found in the north frontier; nor of, or after, that of Gallio in the south.

Mr. Whitaker has shewn that the Roman walls were by no means the positive boundaries of the Roman domain, in Britain. But his arguments are a little confused, for no one ever doubted, that Valentia was held by the Romans till their final departure. The point was to shew, that the Romans had stations and settlements beyond what was regarded as the barrier; as beyond the wall of Antoninus, during the reign of Antoninus, and beyond that of Hadrian in his reign. Horsley has shewn in particular, that Netherby, to the north of Hadrian's wall, was a Roman station, in the reign of that emperor. If we believe Richard, the Province Vespasiana existed beyond the wall of Antoninus: but few Roman inscriptions have been found to the north of this wall. Arthur's Oven, a Roman work, stood to the north of it. But this must be examined when we come to speak of the province Vespasiana. We know not what force was stationed at the wall of Antoninus in his time. Nay, what is most puzzling, tho we might believe, that, after Theodosius founded the province

province of Valentia, and he and Stilicho fortified it's northern frontier, the chief Roman force should have been maintained at this frontier; yet from the Notitia and Itineraries, if we trust modern interpretation, it appears that the whole Roman troops were still stationed at the wall of Severus. The reasons of antiquaries are often fantastic; and it may be strongly suspected that the stations mentioned in the Notitia, as *per lineam valli*, were along the Northern frontier, and the coast opposite to Ireland. Certain it is, that the *Vallum* of Richard and the Itinerary, ascribed to an Antoninus, but written in the fourth or fifth century, is the Northern frontier; not the Southern, which was called *Murus*, as *Ad Murum*, or Newcastle, &c. and it is most reasonable to suppose, that, in the Notitia, *Vallum* has the same acceptation.

If the reader will carefully examine those who have placed these stations at the wall of Severus, he will find that they have not even a shadow of foundation. Horsley and Warburton^d have said all that can be stated on this subject; and they seem to have taken the matter for granted. The sole *coincidences* (for they cannot be called arguments) which they produce, are, that by beginning the stations in the Notitia at the east end of the Wall, they find inscriptions by two troops, the *Cobors Prima Tungrorum*, and the *Prima Ælia Dacorum*, at places which, by their account, answer to *Borcovicum* and *Amboglanna*, where these troops are placed in the Notitia. But unhappily this argument will weigh nothing, when we reflect that these very inscriptions are dedicative of altars to Jupiter, and other gods; and by the form of the letters, and other marks, seem as early as Hadrian's reign. At any rate, they must have preceded the

^d Mr. Warburton (not the bishop) in his *Vallum Romanum* or *Picts Wall*, London, 1753, 4to. The title is improper, for the Wall of Antoninus was specially called *Vallum*; that of Severus, as imagined, or *Picts Wall*, was termed *Murus*.

Notitia by more than a century; for after Constantine I. the whole armies of Rome were Christian, as appears from the *labarum* on medals, and many other tokens; and no altars to heathen gods could be erected. So that these coincidences are matters of chance, not of argument; tho' indeed it be much to be suspected that the inscriptions led to the idea of fixing the troops at the stations. And it must be added, that an inscription by one of these troops was found at the other end of the wall; for which Horsley accounts, by saying it was first stationed there, and after moved. Inscriptions, by no less than three of the cohorts mentioned in the Notitia, have unluckily been also found along the wall of Scotland; namely the *Prima Batavorum*, the *Prima Hispanorum*, and the *Prima Tungrorum*.

Arguments there also are for the stations in the Notitia not being at the Southern Frontier, For 1. Not one name of a station in the Notitia in the least coincides with the modern ones in Northumberland. 2. Not one inscription can be found which mentions the name of a single station. 3. *Luguvallium*, the greatest station on the Southern Frontier, is not to be found in the Notitia; and Horsley, &c. are obliged to suppose it alone deserted! 4. *Pons Ælii* never was a name for Newcastle, which in all the Itineraries is called *Ad Murum*. These arguments are sufficient to shew that there is no foundation for placing these stations at the Southern frontier; and the two last seem to evince that they could not be there.

Other arguments might also be brought for these Stations of the Notitia being along the Northern Frontier; for the Province of Valentia was founded in 367; and it appears from Beda and others, that it was kept till the Romans left Britain about 409, and some years after: it is reasonable to infer, that the fortified frontier, or *Val-lum*, when the Notitia was compiled, was to the
north

north of this province. It is not to be supposed that a single trace, or inscription of these troops, can be found, for hardly an inscription appears after Constantine I. thro the whole Roman empire. Beside, they only continued forty years; whereas, had they remained at the southern frontier for three centuries, as supposed, it might be expected that the name of some one station, in the Notitia, might have found it's way into an inscription, or the Itineraries; but this is not the case. On the whole, the point with regard to these stations of the Notitia stands thus: 1. Antiquaries have taken it into their heads, that they were at the Southern Wall; but this is no argument. 2. As they manage the matter, two inscriptions have been found, which coincide as above stated; but they are obliged to pass one which is fully against them: and three inscriptions of the same troops have been found in Scotland, which more than balance the others. 3. There are positive and direct arguments, that the *Vallum* of the Notitia is not the Southern barrier, for No *Luguvallium*, tho the most noted station on that barrier, is mentioned in the Notitia, and No *Ad Murum*, or Newcastle. And there is no argument whatever against it's being the Northern: for Theodosia, or Dunbarton, is beyond the end of the wall which is at Dunglas: and the stations, if in Scotland, must have run south of the two firths of Clyde and Forth.

It is a pity this point is rather uncertain, for if the stations were really on the Northern barrier, as seems most reasonable to suppose, antiquaries have hitherto been much mistaken. And if they were on the Southern, it would be a most curious fact; as it would shew that the Romans did not fortify the extremity of their real possessions, but had actually a military province beyond the wall at all times; as Vespas-

fiana, beyond the wall of Antoninus ; and Valentia, beyond that of Hadrian.

Upon the most mature examination i am fully convinced, that Severus built no wall in Britain, nor raised any rampart. Dio and Herodian, who lived near his time, both writing under Alexander Severus, about twelve years after the death of Severus, tho they narrate his life and smallest actions at great length, are quite silent as to this. Spartian, who wrote in a most ignorant age, about a hundred years after, is the first who mentions it ; and he is followed by Aurelius Victor, and others. All historians agree that Severus gained territory, so that he could not withdraw the frontier. Tho the wall be of solid stone, and a surprizing monument of Roman power, yet is there not the smallest inscription to be found in honour of Severus ; while, in the Northern turf wall, the inscriptions in honour of Antoninus Pius are numerous. Only one inscription mentioning Severus has been found in Northumberland, or, as is believed, in Britain ; and it is No 109 in Horsley, which was discovered at Hexham, considerably south of the wall : and it only refers to building some fort or temple. The inscriptions in the wall, and it's ruins, refer almost wholly to the Centuries, and Cohorts, who built it ; and they are short as CENT. V. or the like, and rudely engraved. For these reasons i lend full assent to Beda, that this stone wall was built by Gallio ; tho that venerable writer be mistaken, in saying that Severus had formerly raised a turf rampart here, following in this the errors of Spartian and Victor. As to the Welch name of *Gual Sever*, which, it is said, they give to the wall in the north of England, it is also given to that between the firths of Scotland ; and vulgar appellations are so vague and foolish, that no man of sound sense can rest even a straw upon them. I am convinced therefore that there are but two lines of fortification here ; namely,
that

that of Hadrian, of turf and stone, with double ditches before it; and that of Gallio, of solid free stone, near eight feet thick, raised by the joint contributions of the Britons, who sacrificed to their fears every consideration of expence. They soon found that no walls can defend cowardice; and ought to have remembered the Spartan apophthegm of Agesilaus, who, being asked where were the walls of Sparta, pointed to his soldiers, and said *There*.

The Northern barrier more peculiarly concerns my present labour. If the reader wishes to see plans and descriptions at large, he is referred to Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, or Horsley's *Britannia Romana*. It shall only be here remarked, that it is of turf, upon a stone foundation; and is about Four Yards thick. It can be traced from Dunclas, near Dunbarton, to Cairiden, two miles east of Kinneil. The inscriptions found near it are far superior in elegance to those found in the Southern frontier. Horsley also observes, that they much excell the later in two other respects; because they mention the emperor by whose order the wall was built; and the quantity done at each part, by each legion, or vexillation. The Legions employed were the XXth *Valens Victrix*, the IId *Augusta*, and the VIth *Victrix*. Three legions, if complete with the auxiliaries of each, &c. would amount to Thirty-six Thousand men. The inscriptions found along the wall of Antoninus were numerous in Horsley's time, or fifty years ago: since the canal was dug, they are much encreased. The inscriptions found in Northumberland equal in number those of Cumberland, and all the rest of England, put together. Those found along the wall of Antoninus will now equal those found in Northumberland, or half of those found in all England. Had Severus, whose medals are so fine and various, and to whom, as now discovered, the pillar

how
could
they?

called Pompey's, at Alexandria, was erected by one city, had he built this wall, every part of it would have been filled with his glory; whereas, not one hint can be found from inscriptions that this vast work is his. Reason, as well as the authority of Beda, will therefore vindicate our ascribing this prodigious monument to Gallio, and the fears of the Britons: for fear is, of all passions, the most extravagant, and will throw even gold and diamonds into the sea.

CHAPTER IV.

The Province of Valentia.

THE history of a frontier is ever confused. The perpetual changes it undergoes, like the waves of a troubled ocean, prevent any distinct reflection of the sun of truth. A silent desert, or a scene of blood; or now possessed by one nation, now by another; it is impossible to derive order from confusion, or knowlege where materials must be wanting.

The southern part of Scotland, from the rivers Clyde and Forth, to those of Solway and Tyne, thus including also a part of Northumberland, may be regarded, during the Roman times, as merely a large frontier. About the year 78, the nations who held it, namely the Selgovæ, Novantes, Damnii, and Otadeni, had either been vanquished by Cerealis, or had voluntarily submitted to Agricola. A great part of the Damnii, and Brigantes, now went into Ireland, as Richard says; and as the names given by Ptolemy and him prove.

Britain, being effectually subdued by Agricola, seems to have remained quiet till the reign of Hadrian, or about forty years. In the beginning of Hadrian's reign, as his biographer^a says, the Britons could not be kept under the Roman power: and Richard tells us that both the provinces Vespasiana and Mæata were then broken. In 121, he built the southern wall, seeming

^a Spartian, apud. Hist. Aug. Script.

silently to relinquish both these provinces. But nineteen years after Antoninus Pius recovered Mæata; and built his wall on the northern frontier.

About the year 164 Calphurnius Agricola was sent into Britain, by Marcus Antoninus, to quell some commotions^b, apparently in the north; but his success is doubtful, for no inscriptions but of Pius occur in the Northern Wall; so that it would seem that all between the walls was now lost. In the time of Commodus, about 183, the Mæatæ were again in arms; and continued not only in freedom, but to insult the southern frontier, till Severus arrived in 207. In 211 Caracalla seems to have left the Mæatæ in full possession of this province; for it is clear from inscriptions, that the Roman forces continued at the southern barrier.

About 290 Constantius seems to have reduced the Mæatæ; and their numbers appear to have been much diminished, for, when we again find British affairs mentioned, their name never occurs. We have indeed no mention of the Mæatæ after 211; but this is owing to the silence of Roman writers concerning Britain, from 211 to 360, save a few hints of the Panegyrics.

In 360, we learn from Ammianus^c, that the Scots and Piks were wasting the parts of Britain next to the frontier. And in 364 he says the Piks, Saxons, Scots, and Attacots, molested the Britons with constant incursions: and in 367 that the Piks, divided into two nations, the Dicaledones and Vecturiones, and also the Attacots, wasted the British provinces. When Theodosius, the general, arrived, about the later year, he found the

^b Imminet etiam Britannicum bellum; et Catti in Germaniam ac Rhetiam irruerant. Et adversus Britannos quidam Calphurnius Agricola missus est; contra Cattos Aufidius Victorinus. Capitolinus in Marco, ib.

^c Lib. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII.

Piks and Attacots advanced even to London and Kent. Driving them back, he pursued them to the firths; and, recovering all the land between the walls, he made it a province, under the new name of VALENTIA, from Valens the emperor.

This province remained in possession of the Romans forty-two years, till 409, when they left Britain. Upon this the Piks and Scots rushed in, and again ravaged all till 421, when the Romans assisted the Britons to repel them; and the Britons again built or repaired the wall between Clyde and Forth, as Beda shews. But this barrier had no avail: and, about five years after, the Romans under Gallio came, for the last time, to assist the Britons, and built the grand wall between Solway and Tine. The Piks and Scots then seized on all Valentia up to the new wall, as Beda^d shews; but having met with some defeats from the Britons, the Scots went home to Ireland, while the Piks continued quiet in their new possessions.

^d Revertuntur ergo impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum, post non multum tempus reversuri. Picti in extrema parte insulæ tunc primum, et deinceps, quieverunt; prædas tamen nonnunquam exinde, et contritiones, de Britonum gente agere non cessarunt. I. 14.

CHAPTER V.

The kingdom of Strat-Clyde.

WE are now arrived at the most obscure and difficult part of the whole Scottish history : and as i have in consequence given it the greatest labour and attention, so i must desire the reader to watch my steps with a severe eye; and judge for himself, on the materials which shall here be furnished with the utmost impartiality, and which, it is presumed, are all that can be found upon this subject.

As i shall in this chapter, for the first time, quote the ancient Lives of Saints, i must request the reader to observe that this evidence is universally admitted by the learned of all countries and religions, as irrefragable with regard to historic and geographic facts. And rightly; for there could be no possible temptation to fiction in these articles : but, on the contrary, every inducement to preserve these grand features exactly, in order to colour their ridiculous tales. A Life of a Saint may be regarded as a religious novel; in which, tho the miracles be fiction, the geography and history are always real. In the grand Collection of the French Historians, executed with a care and magnificence worthy of a great nation, extracts from the ancient Lives of Saints are inserted under each century, or division, as equal vouchers with the ancient historians: and in that of the Danish historians, tho executed by protestants, in a protestant country, the same plan is followed. Montesquieu and Gibbon^a have not disdained to found upon the Lives of Saints. But having said so much on

^a Esprit des Loix XXX. 11. &c.

Mr. Gibbon, Vol. VI. p. 95, 8vo. ed. says, 'The ancient legendaries deserve some regard, as they are obliged to connect their fables with the real history of their own times.' He then quotes lives of Saints, from the *Historiens de France*.

this subject in the preface, let us return to our present point, after premising that the reader must not confound the kingdom of Strat-Clyde, the object of this chapter, with that of Cumbria, the object of the next: for, tho this has almost universally been done hitherto, it is an error as shall presently be shewn. The kingdom of Strat-Clyde included only Dunbarton, Renfrew, and the upper part of Lanerk-shire. That of Cumbria comprized Cumberland and Westmoreland in England. A space of only sixty miles lay between them; and it is no wonder that this proximity has occasioned their being confounded, as the materials concerning them are so barren.

In this chapter i shall first produce all the authorities which can be found concerning the kingdom of Strat-Clyde; and then offer a few remarks. To proceed according to the chronological order of the writers quoted:

1. Adomnan, elected Abbot of Hyona in 679, wrote the life of St. Columba, the converter of the northern Piks, in three books. In book I. of the MS. in the royal library, written in the 13th century, the fourteenth chapter runs thus:

'A prophecy of the holy man, concerning king Roderic, the Son of Totail, who reigned at Petra Cloithe,' (the rock of Clyde.)

'The same [Roderic] being a friend of the Saint [Columba] sent, at another time, a secret message to him by Lugbeus Mocumin, wishing to know if he should be slain by his enemies, or not. Lugbeus, being asked by the Saint concerning the same king, his kingdom and people, answered as in pity, Why do you ask me about this wretch, who can by no means know what hour he shall be slain by his enemies? The saint upon this said, He shall never be delivered into

^b De Rege RODERICO, filio Totail, qui Petra Cloithe regnavit beati viri propheta.

Alio IDEM in tempore, &c. MS. in Bibl. Reg. 8 D. IX.

‘ the hands of his enemies, but shall die in his
 ‘ house upon his own pillow. Which prophecy
 ‘ of the saint concerning the king was fulfilled.
 ‘ For, according to his word, he died an easy death
 ‘ in his own house.’

It must be observed upon this quotation, that the titles of all the chapters of this work are infallibly put by Adomnan himself; for, without them, the chapters would often be unintelligible, as the above, among many, may shew; for Roderic is never mentioned before or after, and the beginning of the chapter refers to its title: as do many others in the work. Adomnan is indeed so exact, that, at the end of this performance, we find a solemn injunction^c not to alter a single word in transcribing. Yet has this work been altered in some parts; a few chapters being omitted in the MS. from which Canisius printed it, which are to be found here; and a few are omitted here, which may be found in Canisius. The work, when complete, contained all to be found, either in Canisius, or in this MS. as is evident from the style, and connexion; and a genuine edition should be of equal extent, but ought chiefly to follow this MS. which is most ancient and correct.

2. Beda, who wrote in 731, mentions Alcluith, or Petra Cluith, as remaining, in his time, in the hands of the Britons^d. He says it stood upon a

^c Admonitio Adomnani ad Scriptores. Obsecro eos quicunque voluerunt hos describere libellos, imo potius adjuro per Christum judicem sæculorum, ut, postea diligenter descripserint, conferant, et emendant, cum omni diligentia, ad exemplar unde extraxerunt; et hanc quoque adjurationem hoc in loco subscribant. Usher observes, that in this he imitates Irenæus, and Eusebius in his Chronicle. *Usher Vet. Epist. Hib. Sylloge*, Dublin, 1632, 4to. p. 130.

^d Civitas Britonum munitissima usque hodie quæ vocatur Alcluith. I. 1. Alcluith, quod lingua eorum significat Petram Cluith; est enim juxta fluvium nominis illius. I. 12. *et vide* IV. 26.

river of the same name, the Cluith, or Clyde; and his description is well known to refer to Dunbarton.

3. The life of Gildas, published by Mabillon, from a MS. in the library of Fleury Abbey, mentions that Gildas was born at Arclyd (read Alclyd) or Dunbritton; and that his father Caunus, or, as others call him, Navus, was king of that country, and was succeeded by his son Hoel*.

4. Affer, who wrote his life of Alfred, about the year 900, narrates, that in 875, Healfdene, with one half of the Danish army, marched into Northumberland, and wintered near the river Tine. That he subdued all Northumberland, and wasted the lands of the Píks, and *Stratdutenfes*. Read, as all other authors write, *Stratclutenses*, or those of Strat-Clyde; the *c* and *l* having coalesced into a *d*.

5. The Saxon Chronicle, which was written by different hands, from the Eleventh century, down to the Twelfth, throws several minute lights on the present subject. Under the year 875, it mentions that Healfden, or Haldan, the Danish general, wasted the country between the Píks and *Stræcled-Walli*, or Strat-Clyde Welch. And under 924, it mentions that the king of Scotland revered Edward of England as his father; as did also the king of the *Stræcled-Welch*.

6. In the twelfth century, a whole blaze of evidence opens upon this subject, as historians and other writers became then much more common in Britain. Florence of Worcester, who wrote about 1101, mentions the Strat-clyde Welch, in 875, as Affer does. He also says, that in 901, Edward of England was acknowledged lord by the kings of the Scots, Cumbri, Strat-clyde Welch, and those of the Western Britons, or Welch. Florence also mentions them, under 921,

* Vide Ufferii Antiq. Eccl. Brit.

on the same score, as do most historians, who relate the reign of Edward the Elder, which lasted from 901 to 925.

7. Simeon of Durham, who wrote about 1164, mentions the Strat-clyde Welch, under 875, as Affer; and under 921, he says that the king of Scots, with all his people, and Regnal, king of the Danes, with the English and Danes, living in Northumberland, and also the king of the Strat-clyde Welch, elected Edward king of England for their father and lord, and made a firm alliance with him.

8. On the shelf of ecclesiastic ambition, we may place the Solemn Deed, intituled *Inquisitio facta per David Principem Cumbriae de possessionibus Ecclesiae Glasguensis*, published by Sir James Dalrymple^f. It was written about 1113, when David was prince of Cumberland, &c. in the reign of his brother Alexander I. About that time a part of Cumberland was added to the see of Glasgow, as we learn from the *Anglia Sacra*, p. 699. The zeal of David, afterward king of Scotland, for the church is well known; and to gratify it seems to have been his greatest pride. His zeal had here the same effect with that of our Scottish antiquists, who, not having sense enough to know that it is much more honourable to encrease, than retain, wish to persuade us, that the kingdom of Scotland was always as large as now, on the south of the Forth and Clyde; so, in this charter, because lands are added to the see of Glasgow, these new acquisitions are most falsely said to be an ancient part of it. One cannot help laughing to observe, that falsehood is always but another name for folly: the truth, namely, that the see of Glasgow had made new and great acquisitions did it high honour; the falsehood, namely, that these acquisitions had formerly belonged to it, did it dishonour, not only as a falsehood,

^f Collections concerning Scottish History. Edin. 1705, 8vo. but

but even taken as a truth, it gave an idea of weakness and uncertainty in the possessions of the fee; and power resting wholly on opinion, nothing can injure it more than such an idea, whereas acquisition encreases the opinion of power to a degree far exceeding the reality. The *regnum Cambrense*, or Welch kingdom in Scotland, is confounded here with the *regnum Cumbrense*, or kingdom of Cumbria. Ignorance indeed might also have it's share in this error; for there was but one letter of difference, and the distance between them did not exceed sixty miles. Father Innes, as a good friend to the bishopric of Glasgow, rests upon this authority, that the kingdom of Strat-Clyde and that of Cumbria were all one, and reached from Cumberland to Glasgow; but we have *disinterested* authorities against this, as shall presently be shewn; and tho i have a high opinion of the learned father, yet he deserves blame for sacrificing any historic point to a *pious fraud*. The next article also must be partly considered in this light.

9. For Jocelin, a monk of Furness, in Lancashire, wrote about 1180, and dedicated his life of St. Kentigern, or Mungo, to another Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow, from 1174, till 1199². In that long work there are several anecdotes of the kingdom of Strathclyde. He calls it *Regnum Cambrense*, or the Welch kingdom; and describes it as reaching from the wall in Northumberland, to the firths of Forth and Clyde; an absurdity by his own account, for he mentions that St. Kentigern converted the Picts in Galloway. He makes the bishopric of Kentigern extend over all that kingdom; another absurdity, for if he had held such a bishopric, it could never have escaped Bede, who does not mention him at all. Kentigern lived in the time of Saint Gregory the Pope, and of Columba, or about the year 600: and Jocelin

² MS. Cotton. Vitell. c. viii. et transcript. penes Aut.
VOL. I. E extends

extends his life much, so that he could not die before 650. Now it is evident from Beda that there were no bishops at Glasgow in that period, tho there were of Candida Casa, or Whithern: and that the English possessed most of the south of Scotland, till driven out by the Piks in 684, or 46 years before Beda wrote, as he tells us, book IV. ch. 26. As the English held Lothian, and the south of Galloway, so the Piks held the west by Jocelin's own account; and this *Regnum Cambrense* must be confined to Dunbarton and Renfrew shires, and a small part of Lanerkshire. In short, his book is palpably written to gratify the ambition of the bishop of Glasgow; and Jocelin has spared no *pious fraud* on the occasion. Yet even his errors throw light on the truth; and, if we withdraw our faith from the ambitious parts, we may give him considerable credit for the rest, referring to history, or geography; especially as, he says, he followed two elder lives, the one in Latin, the other in Irish. Of Kentigern's bishopric, we shall speak in Part VI. Jocelin puts Kentigern as cotemporary with two kings of Strat-Clyde, Morken and Rederech; and mentions his prophecy about Constantine, a third who succeeded Rederech: he also names Langueth the queen of Rederech.

10. Ailred, abbot of Reval, in his life of St. Ninian, written about 1150, speaking of the western parts of Scotland, where St. Ninian was born, says, that it was certain, not only by the testimony of histories, but by the memory of men, that these western countries had a proper king of their own till the end of the Saxon, or English times, that is, till the Norman invasion. And he mentions Tudwald as king in St. Ninian's time, or about 412^h.

11. Roger Hoveden wrote about 1210; and, under the years 899 and 917, he mentions the

^h MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Laud. F. XV. et transcript. penes Aut. See also Innes.

Strat-Clyde Welch, as Nos 6. and 7. Most of the English writers, who relate the reign of Edward the elder, also mention them, so their testimonies need not be repeated. Only it may be observed, that Matthew of Westminster, called *Florilegus*, who wrote about 1320, always puts *Galkwalenses* for *Stratcludwalli*, knowing they lived in part of ancient Galloway, which extended even to Clyde.

12. Caradoc of Llancarvon wrote his history of Wales about 1157. The editions we have of him are stuffed with interpolations, especially that of 1697. Little can therefore be rested on him. He tells us, under the year 878, that, after the death of Roderic the Great king of Wales, “the northern Britons of Strat-clwyd and Cumberland were mightily infested, and weakened, thro the daily incursions of the Danes, Saxons, and Scots;” so that many came to Gwyneth, under the conduct of one Hobert, and had all the country between Chester and the river Conway granted them for habitation, if they could expell the Saxons who had seized it. Necessity gave them courage, and they accomplished this. Under the years 944, and 1054, he mentions Stratclwyd *in Wales*.

This last evidence naturally leads us to the chief difficulty in this point, namely, if the kingdom of Strat-Clyde was in Scotland, or Wales? For there is also a river Clyde in North Wales; and Camden and others incline to think the Strat-Clyde Welch were really of that country. I was long of the same opinion; but am now convinced it is erroneous, for the following reasons.

1. In no history of Wales, however particular as to the other kingdoms, do we find Strat-Clyde mentioned as a kingdom in that country. Caradoc alone mentions it as a district; and palpably infers that it received that name from the real Strat-Clyde Welsh, who came into it, and expelled the Saxons

about 878, as above stated. It may be said, neither are the Strat-Clyde Welch mentioned in Scottish historiansⁱ. But this would be a quibble, for we have no Scottish historians till the beginning of the Fifteenth century; whereas the Welch had annals before Geofrey and Caradoc, who wrote in the Twelfth.

2. Gwyneth, or North Wales, thro which the Welch Clyde runs, was of itself a very small kingdom; Powis, or Middle Wales, being another kingdom equal to it in size; and Demetia, or South Wales, by far the largest. So that it is improbable that Strat-Clyde should be a kingdom in North Wales. And if it were, as we find kings of Dyfy and Cardigan in South Wales mentioned by Caradoc, it is most improbable that the Welch writers should be silent about a people remarkable even in English history.

3. The opinion of Camden was given from want of knowlege that there had been any British kingdom upon the Clyde in Scotland. Adomnan, Jocelin, Ailred, &c. he had never seen, nor heard of. An eminent writer may be ignorant, but to found upon his ignorance is folly.

4. Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote his *Descriptio Cambriae*, and his *Itinerarium Cambriae*^k, in the Twelfth century, is utterly silent concerning this kingdom, tho most particular in every other matter. In the *Itinerarium*, written 1188, he mentions the river Cluyd toward the end; but says not one word of this kingdom, nor of the Strat-Clyde Welch.

5. The Welch writers deny this kingdom to have been in Wales. Lluyd, in his *Commentario-*

ⁱ They are however implied repeatedly by the name *Britanni*, *Britones*, in one of our oldest fragments, the Chron. XII. Regum, apud Innes, as after shewn.

^k See both at the end of the London 8vo edition of Ponticus Virunnius, an Italian writer, who abridged Geofrey of Monmouth, about the year 1500; and in Camden's *Anglica, Hibernica, &c. Francof. 1602 fol.*

*lum*¹, says expressly that the Strat-Clyde Welch were on the Clyde in Scotland, whence a part of them came into Wales about 878, as above stated. He indeed adds, that they founded a kingdom of Strat-Clyde in North Wales after that period. But in this he is positively contradicted by Williams his last learned editor, who says, that not a trace of this can be found in the Welch annals. They indeed say, *Pan oedd oed Crist 944 y diffeithwyd Stratclud i gan y Seison*, that is, 'In the year of Christ 944, Stratclud was wasted by the Saxons.' But this, proceeds Williams, must be understood of the region near Dunclid, or Dunbarton, for it appears from the Saxon Chronicle, that king Edmund in that year subdued all Northumberland; and that in the following years he wasted the land of the Cumbrians, &c. In the same annals, adds he, we read *Pan oedd oed Crist 974 y cyrchawdd Dunwallawn Brenin Stratclud Rufain, ac y bu farw*: that is, 'In the year of Christ, 974, Dunwallon, king of Stratclud, went to Rome, and there died.' But that he was not of Wales, but of Scotland, appears, says Williams, from this, that there is no mention of him, nor his kingdom, in the Welch annals, and we call the vale of Clyde in North Wales not Strat-Clwyd, but Dyffryn Clwyd. He then adds, that the Stratchlydwalli, of the Saxon Annals, &c. were certainly on the Clyde in Scotland. At the end of this last edition of *Llwyd*, are *Æræ Cambro-Britannicæ*, in which, under the year 584, we find that Gurgi and Pederdur, sons of a prince in North Britain were slain. A note informs us, that at that time, and long after, the Britons, or Welch, held Dunclide, that is, *Caer Alclud*, now Dunbarton, and the neighbouring regions; and that the nobles of these

¹ This is the book so warmly attacked by Buchanan. It was published at London, 1572; republished by Williams, London 1731, 4to.

countries are called in old Welch MSS. *Teyrnedd y Gogledd*, or *kings of the North*, who, tho several, were all obedient to the king of Cumbria, or Cumberland.

6. It will appear *prima facie* to an unprejudiced reader, that the Straclyde Welch of Affer, the Saxon Annals, and the other English historians, above mentioned, were in Scotland, and not in Wales. For the progress of Halfden's army was north; while the other half of the Danes moved south, toward Cambridge^m, as Affer tells. Halfden wintered on the Tyne in Northumberland, and ravaged the lands of the Piks and Straclyde Welch. Between him and North Wales were about 170 miles: between him and Clyde in Scotland, not above 50. To say that Halfden ravaged the lands of North Wales, by excursions from Northumberland, would be a strange information. But that he ravaged the south of Scotland, from that station, is quite natural. Florence, Simeon, &c. always rank the Straclyde Welch, with the Scots, Cumbrians, Northumbrians, all nations of the north. To rank the inhabitants of a small vale, in North Wales, with such nations, and such northerly nations, would have been absurd. Matthew of Westminster expressly calls them Galwalenses, or people of Galloway, taken in the large sense it once bore.

7. The kingdom on the Clyde in Scotland, mentioned by Adomnan, Jocelin, &c. could not vanish. We have certain evidence that there was a kingdom on the Clyde in Scotland; but none at all that there was one on the Clyde in Wales. The inference is obvious.

8. The River Clyde in Scotland runs about 120 miles; that in Denbighshire, not above 20. The former is a great and majestic river; the later a small stream. There is something ridiculous in

^m Then called Grantebrycge, p. 27. edit. Wile.

supposing that the inhabitants round a little river, in a small county of Wales, should find a place in English history, where the Welch are put *in general*, even the three real Welch kingdoms being seldom, or never, mentioned; while, in the particular history of Wales itself, these inhabitants never occur.

These arguments may, it is hoped, be found convincing; so that it may be regarded as an Historic Truth, that the Strat-Clyde Welch were upon the Clyde in Scotland; where in all events we know that a Welch kingdom long existed, the kingdom of *Petra Gloitbe*, of Adomnan, the *regnum Cambrense* of Jocelin. The title is from the capital, according to a not uncommon custom of the darker ages. Thus in a MS. of the Cotton library, Nero, E. I. we find *Didanus rex Oxenfordiæ*, for king of Mercia. In Caradoc of Lancarvon, under the year 933, we find king of London put for king of England; and the same expression is used in the laws of Howel Dha. In Jocelin's life of Kentigern, most of that saint's adventures with the king Rederech happen at Glasghu, or Glasgow, anciently, as Jocelin says, called Cathures: and he also mentions, that king Rederech died the same year with Kentigern, *in villa regia quæ Pertmet nuncupatur*, at the royal country house called Pertmet.

Let us now proceed to consider a little the history of this kingdom, which is obscure in the extreme, and of which only scraps can be found. A Welch chronicle of Strat-Clyde would be a curious discovery, but not to be hoped, so we must put up with the imperfect notices we have.

The Romans held Valentia down to the year 409, when they left Britain. Upon this dereliction they seem to have appointed various princesⁿ over

ⁿ Zozimus, lib. VI. mentions letters of Honorius *προς τας*
αυ Βρετανια πολεις, 'to the towns in Britain.' This was after

over different parts of Britain ; a plan suggested by sound policy, for these petty kings would naturally be at variance ; whereas, had one king been given, his power would have been so great, that the Romans would have found a return difficult, if they were so inclined. This supposition is countenanced by Gildas, who addresses no less than five kings of the Britons in his time reigning at once over different parts, which unhappily he does not specify. The kingdom now under view seems originally to have extended over all Valentia ; and Theodosia, or Alclud, being the capital of the province, naturally impregnable, and towering, like the acropolis of Corinth, on the top of a high rock rising at once from a plain, it became of course the capital, and chief strength of the new kingdom. But if ever this kingdom extended over Valentia, the duration of that extent must have been very short indeed, for in 426 the Picts seized on all the east parts of Valentia, down to the wall of Gallio ; and on all the south and west. About 450, Oeta and Eborac are said to have erected a Saxon state in Northumberland : and, however this be, the kingdom of Bernicia extended over the east and south parts, while the Picts seem to have retained present Airshire. In short, Renfrew, Dunbarton, and a part of Lanark shire, seem from the very first to have constituted the kingdom of Strat-Clyde : a small portion of the upper part of Airshire must also be added, where the isles of Great and Little Cumbræ, in the mouth of the Clyde, retain the name of their old Cumraig possessors, with the usual terminating *a*, of isles, which does not signify *water*, as foolishly imagined, but

the Romans left Britain ; but princes soon usurped the power. The towns indeed, as founded by the Romans, might be considered as more attached to them ; which circumstance may perhaps account for these letters being addressed to the towns only.

iland.

iland°. The names in Cunningham and Kyle, or the two thirds of Air-shire to the north, are Gothic : some of those in Carrick, or the south part of Air-shire, are Irish. It is remarkable, that the Irish was spoken in Carrick to a late period^p, if it be not yet in part ; and the Wild Scots of Galloway are mentioned in old writers. These Scots, being quite disconnected from the other Old Scots of Dalriada, or Argyle, seem to me to have past from the opposite shore of Ireland, by permission of the lords of Galloway ; either from being concerned in some Irish commotion, or being called to assist some lord of Galloway on occasion, who in return, as common in ancient times, gave them land. However this be, the whole names in Cunningham and Kyle, are Gothic, and have in course been ignorantly called Saxon, by those who know not that the Saxon is but a dialect of the Gothic ; and that by the same rule the names in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, are all Saxon. It is ^{not} certain *see annotation* that the Saxons never held this part of the country. If they had, we should have known much more of the kingdom of Strathclyde : but the obscure hints of Beda sufficiently shew, that the Saxon territory never surrounded this kingdom on all quarters, save the north, as it must have done, had the Saxons held Air-shire. The kingdom of Bernicia, as appears from Beda, extended to the Forth on the east, but by no means to the mouth of Clyde on the west. Whithern, he says, was in it ; and so was Abercorn ; and it seems to have contained only the south west of Galloway, tho it

° In old German *Ach*, or *Acha*, is water, Wachter ; whence Scottish names, *Achtertul*, *Achinleck*, &c. &c. In modern German, it is *a*, or *aa*. But *iles* in *a*, as most of the Orkneys and Hebudes are from the Scandinavian *oe*, an *ile*, in which many Scandinavian *iles*, as *Samsoe*, &c. end.

^p Description of Galloway, with views of castles, &c. a fragment, temp. Eliz. in Mus. Brit. and Dunbar's satires against Kennedy, in Ramsay's Evergreen.

held all the east parts, from the Tweed to the Forth. But of this in the Supplement.

The history of Saint Ninian is very obscure. He was cotemporary with Saint Martin, as his life shews, and all agree: that is, he visited him on his return from Italy, and before he became bishop of Whithern. Saint Martin died, it is believed, in 412; and from the whole tenor of Ninian's story, it is apparent that he flourished before the Picts seized on the south parts, up to Gallio's wall, or the year 426. Tudwald therefore, the British king mentioned by Ailred, must have been one of the princes tributary to the Romans; and has no connection with the kings of Strat-Clyde. Ailred indeed only calls him a king in these western parts. That Whithern was the see erected by Ninian over the Picts he converted, is a childish and ridiculous error. Ailred tells that it was his proper British see, long before he went to convert the south Picts, who lived, as Beda shews, south of the Grampian hills, or in Fifeshire, &c. Ninian's success among these Picts is passed in two lines by Ailred, tho' the most important part of Ninian's life.

The first mention we find of kings of Strat-Clyde, is by Adomnan, who supplies Roderic as above shewn. This prince was clearly the Rederech of Jocelin, as Columba and Kentigern were cotemporaries. His father was Morken, as Jocelin shews, and his son Constantine: and we learn from Jocelin, that the succession was lineal, as usual among the Welch. The Life of Gildas mentions Caunus, or Navus, in the fifth century, and his successor Hoel.

In the *Æræ Cambro-britannicæ*, published in the last edition of Llwyd's *Commentariolum*, we find some notices concerning this kingdom, under the year 577, when the battle of Arderydd, or Atterith, on the Esk, near Solway firth, was fought. But these notices are so confused, as usual with all Celtic history, that nothing can easily be made of them.

them. It is indeed surprizing that almost every intelligence conveyed in the Celtic dialects, Welch or Irish, amounts, from its confusion and inaccuracy, to worse than no intelligence at all; while the Northern histories, written in Gothic, are ever clear and accurate. A strong proof among many, that a Celtic mind is very different from a Gothic one. *Homo homini deus* It is there stated from some imperfect hints of Welch genealogies, &c. that this battle was fought between Roderic, king of Cumbria, on the one side, and Guendolau and Aedan, northern princes, on the other. Roderic was not king of Cumbria, but of Strat-Clyde, as appears from Williams's own account; for he says, he is the same mentioned in the life of Kentigern. So far as i can understand the matter, it was an intestine war; and is therefore ranged by the Welch author of the *Triades* among the three foolish battles, or those fought for nothing. Neither of the two adversaries of Roderic, namely Guendolau and Aedan, are once mentioned as kings. Guendolau, who fell in this battle, was the patron of Merlin of Calydon, who lived in Strat-Clyde, and conversed with Kentigern, as will be seen in Part VI. He and Aedan seem to have rebelled, and got assistance from Wales, which they were leading against Roderic, when met by him, and defeated. The genealogy of Roderic there given, is *Rhydderch Hael ab Tudwal Tudglud, ab Cedig, ab Dyfuwal Hen, ab Ednyfed, ab Macsen Wledig*: and both Guendolau and Aedan are in a like manner traced to Macsin, or Maximus Tyrannus, which Williams, instead of laughing at, takes *bona fide*! But Welch and Irish genealogies are only documents for bedlamites, being the quintessence of frenzy and folly. We however learn, that Roderic was a monarch so generous, that he was called *Hael*, or *The Bountiful*, and is praised by different Welch authors. Nothing can be more ludicrous than the remark of

Williams

Williams upon the similitude between Aidan and Aedan, that the Scottish writers had stolen some actions of Welch princes. We have the authority of Beda, a page of whom is worth all the Welch and Irish annals in the world, for Aidan *rex Scottorum qui Britanniam inhabitant*; for the Welch nobleman Aedan, we have no authority at all. The Kintillus, or Kinatellus, son of Gauran, is a mere dream: and he is banished from Scottish history.

Thus we can trace five kings of Strat-Clyde: from the life of Gildas, two who reigned toward the end of the fifth, and beginning of the sixth century, CAUNUS and HOEL: from Adomnan, one who reigned toward the end of the sixth century, Roderic: two from Jocelin, MORKEN predecessor of Roderic, and CONSTANTINE son of Roderic. They who wish to see uncertain hints of the first Caunus, are referred to Usher's Antiquities of the British Churches; who also informs us, from Welch authors, that Hoel, the next, was slain in battle by Arthur^a. Morken and Constantine, are mentioned by

^a The reader need hardly be told that Arthur was merely a name given by the Welch to Aurelius Ambrosius, their Roman defender against the Saxons. See Gildas, c. 25. Beda l. 16. *Art-uir*, signifies the Chief, or Great Man. He flourished about the year 480. Gildas lived in the very time assigned to the mock Arthur, yet knew nothing of him; nor did Beda. Nay, nor Nennius; for the chapter concerning Arthur, is an addition, and occurs after the words *Hic explicit gesta Britonum a Nennio conscripta*. See Bertram's edition. Mr. Whittaker, to support his romance of Morte Arthur, which, with him, is history, makes Nennius live in 620, tho, from no less than five computations in his work, it be evident that he wrote in 858: and any man, the least versed in such matters, must see from his work in general that it is of the Ninth century. Nor did Mr. W. observe that the chapter on Arthur is not of Nennius, but an addition taken from Geoffrey's romance. The author, fond of Arthur's fame, once thought him a reality; but upon full examination is undeceived. Milton declares against the existence of Arthur. Hume, following, as usual, what Mr. Gibbon justly calls, 'the gross ignorance of Carte,' supports the dream. That Arthur was Aurelius Ambrosius is certain: but the Arthur of Welch

by Jocelin. Roderic is celebrated by different writers; and was the greatest of the kings of Strat-Clyde.

The Annals of Ulster, the most valuable and authentic of the Irish Histories, and generally founded on those of Tighernac, who wrote in 1088, give us the following kings of Alclyde, or Strat-clyde. In 657, say 660, as these annals generally precede the common calculations of the Christian æra by three years, GUIRET king of Alclyde died. He was probably successor of the above Constantin. In 693 [696], DONAL, son of Owen, king of Alclyde, died. In 710 [713], there was a battle between the Dalriads, or Irish of Argyle, and the Britons, [of Straclyde,] in which the later were vanquished. In 716 [719], there was another battle at the stone, called Mimro, and the Britons again fled. In 721 [724], BILE, son of Eilphin, king of Alclyde, died.

After this we find nothing concerning this kingdom till the year 756, when Egbert, king of Northumberland, and Unnust, king of the Picts led their army to Alclud, and the Britons yielding, received terms. So Simeon of Durham; and Roger Hoveden *. The terms would seem to be of tribute. To return to the Annals of Ulster.

In 779 [782] Alclud was burnt in the Calends, or 1st of January, but by whom appears not. In 869 [872,] Alclyde was besieged by the Norwegians

Welch history is a non-existence. The names of places built on by Mr. Whitaker, arose merely from the romances; and none of them are older than the 13th and 14th centuries. Arthur's Seat near Edinburgh is a name of yesterday, and arose from the tournaments near it; as did Arthur's Round Table at Stirling. In the centuries of chivalry and romance, Arthur was quite popular, and gave occasion to many names of places.

* Anno 756, Eadbert rex, decimo quinto anno regni sui, et Unnust rex Pictorum, duxerunt exercitum ad Urbem Alclud; ibique Britones inde conditionem receperunt prima die mensis Augusti. *Hoveden, et sic etiam Sim. Dun.*

and

and Danes from Ireland, under Olave and Ivar, who, after besetting it for four months, at length destroyed it. In 871 [874,] ARTGA, king of the Britons of Stratclyde, *Strabcluothe*, was slain by Constantine II. king of the Piks. Thus far the Annals of Ulster.

In 875 we find Halfden wasting the territories of the Strat-clud Welch, and Piks. About this time, if we believe Welch writers, a part of the Strat-clud Welch and Cumbrians settled in Wales.

In the reign of Edward the Elder, of England, (900—925) we find the Stratclud Welch express affection and submission to him, if English writers be believed.

About 972 we learn from Caradoc of Lancarvon, that Dunwallon, king of Strat-Clyde, went to Rome. Llwyd informs us, he was the last king of Strat-Clyde, and that he died at Rome soon after.

The nature of the termination of this kingdom seems unknown. In 970, Kenneth IV. became king of the Piks, and reigned till 992. It is most remarkable, that in the ancient Chronicle of the Twelve kings, who reigned after the union of the Piks and Dalriads, we find that this very Kenneth *prædavit Britanniam*, and after, *prædavit Saxoniam*. The *Britones* and *Britannia* of the whole of that Chronicle appear unquestionably the Strat-Clyde Welch, or Britons, and their country. It informs us that Eochoid, the fifth of these kings, 883, was *filius Ku regis Britannorum*, 'the son of Ku king of the Britons.' That in the time of Constantine, the seventh of these princes, 904, Dovenald, king of the Britons, died, and was succeeded by Dovenald son of Ed. We also find here that Culen 965, and his brother Eochoid, were slain by these Britons; which is confirmed by the Annals of Ulster.

In

In 945, according to the English historians, Edmund king of England gave Cumberland to Malcom I. of Scotland, on condition of homage. The Piks were in possession of Lothian and Galloway, from the year 426. In the reign of Indulf, about 956, we find that the town of Eden was given up to the Scots by the English^{*}; but, if this were Edinburgh, it does by no means follow that the English then held Lothian, for the text bears only that town, which would be absurd, had the large territory around it been also given up. The fact seems, that Athelstan, when he ravaged the south of Scotland in 934, had left a garrison here, in like manner as later kings held forts in the south, nay north of Scotland, when they had not the smallest territory around them. This garrison departed in Indulf's time, and the town was of course given up to the Scots. When Cumberland was given up to Malcom in 945, there is every reason to think that the Scottish dominions reached down to Solway in the middle, and to the Tweed in the east. But the south-west part of Scotland, or that between the rivers Clyde and Nith and the western sea, seems from it's angular situation to have long maintained a species of independency. It is well known that, even down to the twelfth century, the lords of Galloway were only feudatory to the Scottish kings^u; and were in fact petty sovereigns. Down to the tenth century, or about 970, the kings of Strat-Clyde were apparently in like predicament; and the Forth was regarded as the boundary between them and the Piks on the North east, as it originates near Loch Lomond in Dunbartonshire; as Loch Long, and the mouth of Clyde, divided them from the Dalriads on the north and west. We find in that old Chronicle, published by Innes, that Kenneth lost many of his

^{*} Chron. Saxon. &c.

^{*} Chron. apud Innes.

^u Sir David Dalrymple's Annals.

infantry when he attacked these Britons; and that he fortified the banks of Forth. The kingdom of Strat-Clyde certainly remained in existence for about thirty years after Cumberland was given up to the Pikiſh kings. Before this event we find the Piks and Strat-Clyde Britons in cloſe alliance; ſo that Eochoid, the ſon of a king of Strat-Clyde, came to the Pikiſh throne by inheritance in 883, as above mentioned, tho Grig, who was only regent, has uſurped his place, and held it excluſively among the Scotiſh fabuliſts, who chriſten him Gregory the Great, and ſay he was a big conqueror, and all that. But when Cumberland was reſigned to Malcom I. in 945, on account of the turbulence of it's Welch inhabitants, as Matthew of Weſtminſter ſays, the Piks became of courſe the enemies of the Britons, who regarded them as new tyrants. This enmity extended to Straclyde, between which and Cumbria there was conſtant intercourſe; ſo that before 970, as appears from the above quoted old Chronicle, wars had ariſen, and in that year Culen was ſlain by theſe Britons.

About 972, it appears that Kenneth IV. entirely ſubdued theſe Britons of Strat-Clyde: and their territory being annexed to the Pikiſh throne, we find no mention of the kingdom of Strat-Clyde afterward. But the people occur in charters, &c. to a late period. Innes ſhews that charters to the ſee of Glaſgow, by Malcom IV. and William, are addreſſed, *Francis, et Anglicis, Scotis et Galweienſibus, et Walenſibus, et omnibus eccleſiæ S. Kentsgerſni de Glaſgo, et ejusdem epiſcopi, parochianis.* The *Franci et Angli* are Normans and Engliſh, ſome of whom ſettled in the ſouth of Scotland; the *Galweienſes*, the Piks of Galloway, as will after appear; the *Walenſes*, or Welch, are the Britons of Strat-Clyde. In 1304 the law of the Scots and *Brets* is mentioned in an inſtrument quoted by Sir David Dalrymple, in his Annals. Theſe Brets were palpably the Britons of Strat-Clyde, as all the

the Northern Writers call the Welch *Brets*, and Wales *Bretland*^w: Winton also uses *Bret* and *Bretan*, for Briton and Britain. Nay in Clydesdale at present, if you will ask the common people about any ancient castle, or the like, they will tell you it was erected *by the Brets, or by the Pechts*, that is by the Britons, or by the Piks. The *Notitia Imperii* uses *Britti* for Britons: the Saxon translation of Beda *Brytta*: Witichind, in his *Gesta Saxonum*, uses *Bracti* often for Britons.

Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire, and great part of Lanerkshire, formed the kingdom of Strat-Clyde, being about eighty miles long, and thirty broad; and equal in size to the kingdom of Kent, or some others of the heptarchy, and superior to most of the other Welch kingdoms. The language of this part of Scotland still retains something of the Welch accent, and some peculiar words; tho the Pikish, or broad Scottish, the language of the south of Scotland all around this part, has supplanted the old speech entirely. It is also believed that the people were very much lessened before they were subdued; for their defence, as may be judged from the old Chronicle above quoted, was obstinate and bloody, and cost Culen, one of the kings of Scotland (then Pikland), his life; and Kenneth IV. in whose reign their last king is placed and their name vanishes, a great part of his infantry. Dunwallon, their king, seems to have fled to Wales, whence he went to Rome; and it is likely that many of his subjects also escaped into Wales. The speech of Galloway has in general a good deal of the Welch accent, which is vulgarly thought the Irish, for the Celtic accents

^w Snorro, and the Icelandic Sagas, call Wales *Bretland*, and it's people *Brets*. The Saxon Chronicle calls the Welch *Bryttar*. Fordun, II. 56, mentions *Albaniae Britones*. It is remarkable that Lanerk is a place on the Clyde in Wales, as in Scotland; and the name is Cumraig, *Llan*, a church, *Llanerch*, areola, a little area: *Davis Dict. Kymb.*

are much the same. In Carrick till lately Irish was spoken; but this is an exception, owing to that part being possessed by the Wild Scots of Galloway, an Irish settlement, as above mentioned.

It may perhaps be matter of wonder that this kingdom of Strat-Clyde should exist so long in the midst of enemies. But this wonder will cease, when we consider : 1. That when the Piks first seized on the rest of the south of Scotland in 426, most of the Britons of Valentia seem to have retired to this western part, around the fortified capital of Theodosia, or Alclud; and, by their compact numbers and sequestered situation, to have defied the Pikiish power, even as in Wales, Cumberland, and Cornwall, their brethren to later periods withstood the English. 2. That when the Dalriads, in 503, settled in Argyle, they became next neighbours to those Britons; and they seem to have naturally formed alliance from proximity of speech; both speaking the Celtic, tho in different dialects; and to have protected each other. 3. That the Piks were, to a late period, too much harraised by the Angli, to think of attempting this conquest, and would naturally rather wish to have the Strat-Clyde Britons in their amity, as a barrier against the Angli. 4. That when the Angli were in possession of Bernicia, which was but for a short and tumultuary time, they were not only harraised by the Piks and old Scots, but by their southern brethren; so that it would have been folly in them to have attacked the Strat-Clyde Welch, and thus have converted into an enemy a people whose whole view seems to have been self-defence. Causes like these have always protected small states, lying between powerful ones. And tho the kingdom of Strat-Clyde be mostly level and fertile, yet these reasons served as mountain barriers to protect it against surrounding foes.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

The kingdom of Cumbria.

THIS kingdom was not within the bounds of this Part of my work, being south of Solway firth; but some wrongly extending it further north, and it being at any rate a kingdom of the Southern Britons, once belonging to Scotland, it shall be considered here. As this kingdom has by Innes, and others, been confounded with that of Strat-Clyde, it becomes necessary to shew that it was quite a different state, before entering upon any other discussion of this subject. Innes has taken the matter for granted, and gives no reasons for his opinion; but they, who would shew Cumbria and Strat-Clyde to have been one and the same kingdom, might argue thus.

1. Beda mentions that Alclud was in the hands of the Britons in his time, or 731; but says nothing of any possessions they had in present Cumberland, tho he lived in Northumberland; and, if they had such possessions, they could not have escaped his knowlege.

2. The *Inquisitio facta per David Principem Cumbriae, de Possessionibus Ecclesiae Glasguensis*, a deed of the year 1113, expressly puts Glasgow as the ancient metropolitan see of Cumbria: and, by it's uniform tenor, shews that the framer of it looked on Cumbria as including the intervening country between Cumberland and Glasgow. That is, if we judge from this deed, Cumbria and Strat-Clyde were certainly all one.

3. Geofrey of Monmouth, who wrote about 1150, is of the same opinion; for in his *Life of Merlin o Caledon*, a MS. in the Cotton Library, Vesp. E. IV. he puts Roderch, the celebrated king of Strat-Clyde, as king of the Cumbri; and calls his kingdom Cumbria, tho his city he names Alclud^a.

4. That the Cumbri were not of present Cumberland might appear from Richard of Hexham, who says that when David king of Scotland entered the territory of St. Cuthbert, in 1138, he there waited for his army. 'And without delay, according to his orders, the Piks, and Cumbri, and men of Carlel and furrounding country, came to him^b.' Had the Cumbri been of Cumberland, they must have been the men of Carlile, and it's

^a Geofrey also in his Romance, which proved so ruinous to English history, confounds Alclyde, or Dunbarton, with Carlile. Roger of Chester, author of the *Polychronicon*, written about 1330, and ascribed to Ralph Higden, was confounded with this blunder of that ignorant fabulist, and doubts where to place Alclyde. Goodal hence wisely infers, that Alclyde was Carlile, and it's kingdom Cumberland! Alclyde, or Dunbarton, was destroyed by the Danes from Ireland in 872, as above shewn. About 875, the Danes who ravaged Northumberland destroyed Carlile. Geofrey of Monmouth is the *only* writer who confounds Alclyde with Carlile. Roger of Chester, a late writer of no authority, is puzzled with his error; and by mistaking the Wall of Antoninus, implied by Beda, for that of Gallio. But against these writers are Beda, Adomnan, Jocelin, who place Alclyde on the Clyde in Scotland; and ALL the old English historians, who call Carlile Luguballia and Carlele, but never Alclyde. Simeon of Durham at 756 calls Dunbarton *Alcluith*; at 1092 he terms Carlile *Luguballia, anglice Carlele*. Fordun, II. 29, specially distinguishes Carlile from Alclyde, saying, 'Kaerleile etiam, et Alneclud, sive Alclide, quæ et nunc Dunbretan nuncupatur, oppidaque plurima,' &c. In Welch, Carlile is called *Caer Liwelydd*, Evans, p. 36, which bearing some similarity to *Caer Alclydd*, might occasion Geofrey's mistake; but he himself, lib. VII. puts Alclud in Scotland, and has a curious description of Lake Limogoum, or Loch Lomond, which he places in Mureith, or Moray!

^b Nec mora ex ejus edicto Picti, et Cumbri, et homines de Carlel et de circumjacente regione, ad illum convenerunt. Ricard. Hagustald. de Gest. Steph. Col. 319, in Scriptor. X.
2 furrounding

surrounding country ; so that a distinction between the Cumbri and the people of Cumberland seems unavoidable. And if the Cumbri were not of Cumberland, they must have been of Strat-Clyde, as will be allowed by all.

These arguments are all that i can find which may serve this opinion ; and they are stated with the utmost candour, as i neither wish to mislead, nor be misled. Indeed they were at first so prevalent with me, that i long thought Strat-Clyde and Cumbria all one ; but was forced to abandon this opinion for reasons which shall be produced, after giving answers to the above arguments on the other side.

1. Beda's silence as to the Cumbri and Cumbria is at best but a negative argument, and of course a nullity. His work is intitled *The Ecclesiastic history of the English nation* : secular affairs he very seldom, and very briefly, mentions. He says not one word of the Britons in Wales, and Cornwall ; so that his silence as to those in Cumbria need not be wondered at.

2. The *Inquisitio* is an ecclesiastic fraud, to serve the purposes of an avaricious and ambitious see, not a disinterested charter, which can serve history.

3. Geofrey is a romancer, not an historian. He has used such freedoms with the history of his own country around him, that, in such distant regions as Cumbria and Strat-Clyde, his veracity is at best most suspicious. It might also very naturally happen that many of the Welch writers, from the remoteness of Strat-Clyde and Cumbria, and obscurity of their history, might confound these two regions into one, or mistake the one for the other.

4. The fourth argument is to me the strongest. Richard lived at Hexham in Northumberland, near the spot, and also near the time, or about 1150. He is the only writer in being, who seems to distinguish the Cumbri from the people of Cum-

berland,

berland. Carlele is infallibly Carlile : but how came a people in that city and the furrounding territory different from the Cumbri, who by every hypothesis held Cumberland ? The following seems the only way of accounting for this. About the year 875 the Danes under different leaders ravaged all the north of England with great fury ; and, as we learn from many historians, razed Carlile to the ground. The same writers mention that in 1092 it was rebuilt by William II. after lying desert for two centuries. It was to revenge this erection of a fortified town in the midst of his feudal dominions, that Malcom III. invaded England in 1093, when he was slain. In 1100, Henry I. of England married Matilda, sister of Edgar the Scottish king ; upon which event amity followed between the kingdoms till 1137, when David I. opposed Stephen of England. During this space it appears, from the historians of the War of the Standard, 1138, that Carlile and Cumberland, nay Northumberland, had been regarded as part of the Scottish dominions. So that it would seem that Henry I. upon his marriage had in particular resigned Carlile to Edgar : for no formal possession had been ever taken by the English of any other part of these domains ; and it appears from the Domesday Book, that they were not regarded as part of England. The rebuilding and fortifying of Carlile, by William II. was an unexampled encroachment, but, from the sudden boldness in erecting a strong town in the heart of an enemy's possession, was a stroke of daring policy, worthy of an impetuous and haughty monarch ; and, considered either by it's depth or resolution commands admiration^c. But when William II. rebuilt Carlile,

^c But it is to be considered, whether, as Lord Paramount of Cumberland, as he certainly was, the king of Scotland paying homage for it, he had not a title to build a fortified city to protect

lile, in 1092, it cannot be dreamed that herepeopled it with Welchmen, or Cumbri. English or Normans must have been the new tenants, and most probably the later. When, about 1100, Carlile was given up to the Scotish, we cannot believe that the English garrison was allowed to remain, for this were without all example. Edgar king of Scotland certainly sent a garrison into it, of his own subjects, and not of the Dalriads, or Old Scotti, of Britain, for they were despised by our kings; and being mere Celtic savages, ignorant of all arts, could know nothing of engines, or aught belonging to fortifications, or defence of them. We may therefore conclude that this new garrison was of Piks from the south of Scotland, either *Galweienses*, or *Tevedalenses*, or *Lothianenses*, or a mixture. Thus the reason appears why the people of Carlile, and the surrounding territory were not Cumbri, tho the Cumbri were questionless the people of Cumberland.

Having thus, it is hoped, satisfactorily answered these arguments for Strat-Clyde and Cumbria being all one, let us proceed to positive proofs of their difference.

1. Florence of Worcester, one of the most ancient and authentic of English secular historians, and who wrote about 1100, specially distinguishes between the Cumbri and Stratcludwalli, saying under the year 901, p. 598, ed. Francof. 1601. fol. that Edward the Elder ‘*Scotorum, Cumbrorum, Streatgledwalorum, omnesque Occidentalium Britonum reges in deditionem accepit.*’

2. Roger Hoveden, who wrote about the year 1205, has the same distinction; saying, under the year 900, that Edward the Elder *Scottorum, Cum-*

protect his own territory? This question is submitted to those versed in feudal laws and customs. It must also be observed, that William the Conqueror, quarelling with Malcom III. gave Cumberland to Ranulph de Melchines. See Monast. Angl. I. 400.

brorum, Stercglendwalorum, omnesque Occidentalium Brittonum reges in deditionem accepit: 'received submission from the kings of the Scots, Cumbri, Strat-Clyde Welch; and all the kings of the western Britons,' (now Welch proper).

3. Caradoc of Lancarvon, the most authentic of the Welch writers, and who wrote about 1150, says, as above stated, 'the northern Britons of Strat-Clyde, AND Cumberland:' thus clearly distinguishing between these countries.

4. In 945, as English historians say, Edmund king of England gave Cumberland to Malcom I. of Scotland, on condition of homage. Some of the English historians called the territory given, *Cumberland*, as the Saxon Chronicle, William of Malmfbury, Henry of Huntingdon: others call it *terram Cumborum*, 'the land of the Cumbri,' as Florence of Worcester, Roger Hoveden, and Simeon of Durham. This is a plain proof that the Cumbri held no country, save Cumberland.

5. In 945 Cumberland was resigned to Malcom I. and it was generally ruled by the intended successor to the Scottish (then Pictish) throne. But so late as 972 we find Dunwallon, a Welch prince, sovereign of Strat-Clyde, as Caradoc above cited shews. In the time of Edgar of England (959 to 975), a Malcom was king of the Cumbri, as appears from William of Malmfbury, Simeon of Durham, Florence of Worcester: and at that very time Dunwallon was king of Strat-Clyde. This surely proves a difference between Cumbria and Strat-Clyde. Perhaps it may be said, that Dunwallon was the titular Welch king, while Malcom really held the territory; but it is believed that the idea of a titular king was not then known, and that when a family had lost a throne for about thirty years, as would be, in this supposition, the case with Cumbria, if the same with Strat-Clyde, the title was lost with the possession.

6. Had

6. Had Cumbria extended from Cumberland to Dunbarton, the whole western part of the south of Scotland must have formed one continued Welch kingdom ; nor could the Piks have held Galloway, as it appears from Jocelin^d they did even in the sixth century ; and, from old chronicles^e, they did in the ninth, when Kenneth acceded to the Pikish throne ; as from English writers they did in the twelfth, at the time of the War of the Standard. The Piks must in this case have been in the heart of this Welch kingdom, and have divided it into two great parts ; a matter unexampled and unconceivable.

7. Had Cumbria been of such extent it must have been a kingdom 140 miles long, and in many places 60 broad ; while all Wales is not above 120 miles long, and 60 broad. The power and force of this kingdom must therefore have been superior to those of all Wales united. Let the reader but coolly reflect on the consequences of this supposition. If Wales, tho split into three divisions, made such a figure in history, what must Cumbria have done ? Could so great a kingdom almost escape the notice of historians ? While Wales produced so many writers, how could Cumbria produce but one or two ? Could such a kingdom, bordering on the Irish sea, escape the notice of the Irish writers, who yet mark so much concerning Pikland, and the petty kingdom of Dalriada ? Could so large a state escape Beda, who narrates so many events that befell in and about it ? All these, and many other views, in which this supposition may be placed, hold it out in so absurd a light, that every reasonable man will at once reject it. Whereas if we grant Strat-Clyde and Cumbria to have been two petty Welch kingdoms, at a distance from each other, all this absurdity vanishes. Nor

^d Vita Kentegerni.

^e Reg. St. And. apud Innes : and see Part V.

can i see how Innes could sincerely imagine that Cumbria was of such vast extent as the *Inquisitio* marks : and it is uncertain, whether pity or anger be due to him, who, for the sake of a *pious fraud*, gave up a grand point in the history of his country to his love for the old see of Glasgow, and the Roman faith.

8. The names themselves are here of the greatest weight. Adomnan's king of Petra Cloithe, or the rock of Clyde, or Alclyde, as *Al* in Welch means a rock, is so nearly allied by name to Strat-Clyde, that it were most reasonable, from this alone, to infer them one and the same ; especially seeing that it is unquestionably Dunbarton on the Clyde in Scotland which is meant by Adomnan, and that Strat-Clyde is mentioned as near the Piks, so that it must also have been on the Clyde in Scotland, as above shewn. In like manner Cumbria, from the first mention of it to the last, is by authentic English writers used solely for Cumberland ; and ' the land of the Cumbri,' and ' Cumberland,' are used alternately, as also above noted. Not one hint can be brought from any writer, that the meaning of the words Cumbri and Cumbria was so abridged, as to pass at first for all the southwest of Scotland, and afterward be confined to a county of England.

From these arguments it is believed that Cumbria will, in spite of the ambition of the see of Glasgow, be for ever restored to it's true circumscription of Cumberland in England : and we are happily no longer in fear that some future venal scribe should change an *a* into an *u* ; and for *regnum Cambrense*, read *regnum Cumbrense*. Jocelin always uses the former for the kingdom of Strat-Clyde : and tho he extends it over all the south of Scotland, east and west, yet he does not include Cumberland in it, as he makes it terminate at the wall

wall of Severus^f. Having thus shewn Cumbria to have been totally different from Strat-Clyde, let us proceed to mark every thing that can be found in history concerning it, while a separate kingdom. It's Northern boundaries were certainly not more extended than those of present Cumberland, being chiefly the river Esk, which runs into Solway firth; but it is more likely that the wall of Gallio, the *Piks Wall*, was the northern frontier, as we find in Beda that the Piks in 426 seized the country up to that wall. The West boundary is the sea. The East the river of South Tyne, which parts it from Northumberland. The South boundary is more difficult to adjust; but it is generally supposed that Westmoreland, and a small part of Lancashire, were included in ancient Cumbria: and this seems confirmed by the Doomsday book, which omits Cumberland, Westmoreland, and a small part of Lancashire, as not belonging to England. Northumberland is also omitted in the Doomsday book, having Danish independent princes, till 953, when Earls nearly as independent followed; as may be seen in Hoveden, and others. These Earls continued till the time of William II. who took Northumberland into his own hands, as did Henry I. as appears from Hoveden, and from a list of these Earls of the 12th or 13th age, in the Cotton library, Domit. D. VIII. given in the Appendix.

The Britons, who retired to the mountains of the western coast, were little noticed or regarded by the Saxon invaders, who were content with the plenty of the eastern plains. Hence little or no information can be derived concerning even Wales, the greatest possession of these Britons,

^f *Diocesis vero episcopatus ejus [Kentegerni] secundum limites Cambrensis regni extendebatur; quod utique regnum sicut vallum quondam a Severo principe a mari usque ad mare et usque ad flumen Fordense pertingit, &c. Vita Kentegerni, MS. Bibl. Cotton.*

from the Saxon authors. No wonder then that the Strat-Clyde Welch, and the Cumbri, almost escaped their notice. The division of England into petty kingdoms, which in fact lasted till 959, when Edwy king of the West Saxons dying, Edgar became first king of all England, also contributed to our want of information, by occasioning such confusion, that even the Saxon history is obscure. In constant dissensions among themselves, they had other employment than to attend to the situation or affairs of their neighbours. In Beda's time, when the first light arises, it is, as Spenser phrases,

A little glimmering light, much like a shade.

That venerable writer is so occupied with miracles, that he hardly deigns to speak of secular matters; but, in return, what little he says is most just and authentic. We can only learn from him, that the Britons were confined to the west of England; and seem in his time to have held all the western shore, from Cumberland to Cornwall; as for their states, or divisions, we learn nothing, he speaking of them only in general, by the name of Britones, or old Britons. From Nennius, and Samuel his helper, who both wrote about 858, we learn as little; they mentioning only the Britons in general, as Beda; and relating little or nothing, but concerning Vortigern and Hengist, so that they might from their story be placed in 620, as some have done, as well as at their real period². The Danes

² The work of Nennius and Samuel is not a *history*, but an account of the settlement of the various nations in Britain. It goes no lower than Vortigern's death, 473. But the Welch have no connection with the early British kings, who were Belgic, or English. Their history begins about the year 600, after they were pent up in present Wales. Nennius in his preface dates his work 858, in the 24th year of king Mervin. A critical examination of Welch history is much wanted; but Irish and Welch history can only be examined by persons perfectly skilled in these languages, especially the ancient, which differ as much from the modern, as Saxon and English, or as all other languages do.

began

began to invade England in the eighth century, generally ravaging the north; and seizing on Northumberland entirely in 876 held it ever after. In such confusion, and want of information, no wonder we learn nothing of the Britons in Cumberland, while the knowledge of Bernicia, an adjoining Anglie kingdom, has almost perished; and that of Northumberland, tho the most powerful of the heptarchy, is most obscure. In Cumbria no saint, or writer, happened to be born or conversant. The most covetous invaders turned with contempt from it's wild mountains and romantic lakes, now so much admired. They produced no gold, nor pearls. Deer and goats were not objects of prey. The inhabitants lived concealed amid their mountain barriers; and neither glory nor gain could spring from attacking them. And who encounters danger, where neither glory nor gain can be got?

The very first mention we find of the Cumbri is by the English historians, in treating the reign of Edward the Elder (900—925); when they are mentioned among the nations who owned him as father and lord.

In 937 we find Eugenius, or Owen, king of Cumbria surrendering to Edmund of England. *Will. Malmsb. &c.*

In 938 we find the same king at the great and famous battle of Brunenburg. *Idem, &c.*

In 945 Edmund gave Cumbria to Malcom I. of Scotland, on condition of homage, and defending the north of England against the Danes. *Saxon Chron. Hoveden, Huntingdon, Malmesbury.* Matthew of Westminster says, that king Edmund, with the assistance of Leolin, king of Demetia, (South Wales), despoiled Cumbria of all its wealth, and, depriving of their eyes the two sons of Dunmail, king of that province, gave it to Malcom, king of Scotland, to be held of him, and on condition of defending the north of England, by sea
and

and land, from the incursions of enemies. This Dunmail is the only Welch king of Cumbria, whose name is preserved by English writers. There is a very slight resemblance between his name and that of Dunwallon, the last king of Strat-Clyde; but the difference is great enough to prevent any suspicion of the one being taken for the other; and it was surely after the death of Dunmail, and during the minority of his sons, that Edmund conquered Cumbria in 945; whereas Dunwallon died in 972, or after.

After this surrender of Cumbria to Scotland, the heir apparent of the Scottish crown was generally appointed prince, or king as then stiled, of that province, and resided in it as in a distinct sovereignty.

In the reign of Edgar of England (959 to 975) we find a Malcom king of Cumbria, under Kenneth IV. of Scotland, who succeeded in 970.

In the year 1000 Ethelred of England wasted Cumbria. *Simeon of Durham.*

In 1054 Siward, Earl of Northumberland, was sent by Edward king of England to assist Malcom, son of the king of Cumbria, in asserting his claim to the Scottish throne. Siward died in 1055, having returned to Northumberland; but Malcom ascended the throne in 1056. Thus Hoveden and other English writers stile Malcom III. son of the king of the Cumbri; and rightly, as shall be shewn in Part V. After this, Cumbria seems to have been immediately held by the kings of Scotland, and not committed to the charge of the successor.

I have intentionally reserved Fordun's hints about Cumbria to the end. The first mention he makes of Cumbria is lib. IV. c. 21. where he tells, that Constantin, son of Ed (904—944), gave Cumbria to Eugenius, son of Dovenald, his apparent successor. This testimony of Fordun is strongly confirmed by William of Malmfbury, the chief of the English historians, and who wrote in the Twelfth century;

century ; for he names Eugenius as king of Cumbria in 934. But how shall we reconcile it with that of Matthew of Westminster, concerning the sons of Dunmail ? If one authority must fall, Matthew's must yield, for he did not write till two centuries after William. But Matthew's is circumstantial, and apparently true, so that to reconcile both would be best. Constantin of Scotland, a warlike and active prince, had apparently seized on Cumbria, and appointed Eogan, or Eugenius, king ; which was, as Fordun says, in the sixteenth year of his reign, or in 920. Edward the Elder, in whose reign this happened, was occupied in constant contests with the Danes ; and perhaps he favoured Constantin's possession of Cumbria, as a new check on the Danes ; and if the kings of the Scots and Cumbri acknowledged Edward as lord, it must have been on this occasion. In 934 Athelstan king of England quarrelled with Constantin, and ravaged the south of Scotland. Eugenius king of Cumbria seems on this event to have taken refuge in Scotland ; and William of Malmſbury, and others, say he surrendered his crown to Athelstan, either now, or in 938, after the great battle of Brunenburg. Upon this the old line of Cumbrian kings naturally came to the throne ; and Dunmail seems to have been the heir, who was dead, as appears before 945, when his sons were torn from the succession by Edmund. This account has every probability on it's side, and much more verisimilitude than that Edmund should conquer the kingdom, and present it to Malcom. Such presents are rarely made. It was however proper and reasonable, that homage should be performed for it to the kings of England, within whose dominions it lay. The Danes were then the great scourge and terror of the English kings ; and Edmund seems to have followed the policy of Edward, and to have been glad by resigning a province, never in fact subject

to England, to acquire a powerful vassal in his defence against the Danes.

Fordun in the same book, ch. 26, tells that Edmund knowing the Cumbri to favour the Scottish more than the English, and wishing Malcom as an ally against the Danes, delivered up Cumbria to him and his successors for ever. Constantin had, as Fordun says, introduced the custom of appointing the heir to the throne, king of Cumbria. In 953, the first year of his reign, Indulf appointed Odo, surnamed Duff, son of Malcom, king of Cumbria. (Fordun IV. 27.) To Duff who ascended the Scottish throne in 961, succeeded Malcom his son: who is mentioned by English historians as king of Cumbria, in the reign of Edgar (959 to 975). Then followed another Malcom, son of Kenneth IV. in the time of Ethelred (979—1016) and of Kenneth IV. who died 992. It was in his time that Ethelred A° 1000 ravaged Cumbria, because Malcom refused tribute. (Fordun IV. 36. 38). In 1001 this Malcom ascended the throne of Scotland, having slain Grim; and, toward the middle of his reign, gave Cumbria to Duncan, his grandson, who succeeded him in 1031. Upon which another Duncan, the son of the Scottish king, was appointed king of Cumbria. He is the last king of Cumbria mentioned; Malcom III. his son, who acceded to the throne of Scotland in 1056, keeping that principality in his own hands, as did his successors, till the reign of Malcom IV. (1163), who surrendered Cumbria to Henry II. of England.

In the Welch writers we might expect some intelligence concerning the Welch line of kings of Cumbria. Caradoc mentions that Kentigern, who lived about 600, was grandson to URIEN king of Cumbria^h, and son of Owen, regent of Scotland,
for

^h Urien lived about 560; and many notices concerning him may be found in Evans's Specimens of Welch Poetry. He was
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for so the Welch writers sometimes called Strat-Clyde, as being the only Welch kingdom in Scotland; as the Scots, from the same reason, reversed the name, and called it *regnum Cambrense*, or the Welch kingdom. The same writer mentions that about 616 Eneon Bhrenin, a king of these Scots, as he calls them, resigning his royalty, came to Llyn in Gwyneth (North Wales), where he built a church, still called from him Llan Eingan Bhrenin, near which he lived in religious retirement. The title of king was in these days as general as that of prince now in Germany: any independent baron was a king: and thus we find, in Caradoc, kings of Cardigan, Dyfed, and Guentland, in Wales. That Eneon was not the king of Strat-Clyde is clear from Jocelin: and indeed Caradoc himself adds, 'a considerable prince in the north of Britain,' which were ridiculous, had he been the king. This Eneon, our author says, was son of Owen Danun, son of Eneon Irth, son of CUNETHA Wledic king of Cumbria. This Cunetha lived, as we learn from Price's Description of Walesⁱ, 540 years after Christ. Urien seems to have succeeded him in the throne of Cumbria.

If we trust Langhorne's authorities^k, OWEN the son of Urien seems to have followed: and then
CARETIC.

the most famous of all the kings of Cumbria, being the *Urbgen* of the additions to Nennius, *cap. ult.* and in his court flourished the three great Bards Taliesin, Aneurin, and Llywarch Hen. Evans gives specimens of their poetry; and they are all in *rime*, in the same form with those he gives of the 13th century! It was a common trade with the bards to forge poems in the names of celebrated predecessors; and these pretended pieces are palpably of the Eleventh and Twelfth centuries. Was Mr. Evans ignorant that rime was not used till a late period? That Mr. Gray should be imposed on by such pieces would be surprizing, did not all know that historic Antiquities are not studied in Britain. *Apagē Nugas!*

ⁱ Prefixt to the last edition of Caradoc of Lancarvo London, 1697, 8vo.

^k In his *Chronicon Regum Anglorum*, Londini, 1679, 8vo. he gives the following table. *Reges Cumbriæ et Alcludæ*. Natus Ieu Caunus Gildæ pater. Hoel, Huelin, vel Cuil. Anonymus
VOL. I. G mus

CARETIC. After an interval DEOVAMA was contemporary to Edbert of Northumberland 738. Then an ANONYMOUS king assisted Osbert of Northumberland against the Scots. Humphrey Lluyd mentions a CONSTANTINE, king of Cumbria, killed at Lochmaben about 870; upon which event, as he says, many of the Welch of Cumbria and Strat-Clyde passed to Clyde in Wales, and erected a kingdom called Strat-Clyde: but, as Williams shews that not a tittle of this can be found in any Welch Annals, Lluyd seems to have forged this relation, so that it must be regarded as a mere dream. And tho there is every reason to think that on the destruction of the Welch kingdom of Cumbria in 945, and of Strat Clyde about 970, a great part of their inhabitants went to Wales, yet they there mingled with their brethren, and preserved no separate distinction; else they could not have escaped the notice of Giraldus, so particular in other matters. Lluyd finding the first mention, as he supposed, of the Strat-Clyde Welch by the English historians, under the year 875, and wishing to draw all he could to his own dear country, invented that unauthorized falsehood. But tho these Celtic gentry are always ready to invent lyes, there is no danger from them; for as folly is the cause of their villainy, so it is also of it's detection.

mus pater Sancti Petroci. Marcus. Angusellus Lothi et Uriani frater. Evenus Uriani filius. Rodericus. Cereticus. Hoanus, five Oenus Donaldum Breccum Scotorum regem interfecit. Deovama Edberto Northumbrensi contemporaneus. Anonymus Osberto Northumbrensi contra Scotos foederatus. Constantinus ejus filius a Gregorio Scotorum rege occisus. Hebertus Constantini frater. Eugenius Athelstano Anglo contemporaneus. Dunwallo five Dunmail regno exutus. This list is full of errors by confounding Cumbria and Stratclyde, and by taking some from Geofrey of Monmouth and Lluyd, no authorities.

The kings and nobles of the North are noted in Welch poetry, as Mr. Evans remarks in his Fragments of it. Aneurim, author of the Gododin, was of the North; and perhaps from Welch MSS. we might learn whether of Stratclyde, or Cumbria. Merlin the Wild was of Stratclyde, as is clear from his life by Geofrey, compared with Adomnan and Jocelin.

There

There is no reason to imagine that the little Welch vale of Clyde was ever mentioned in English history; and even in that of Wales it is only mentioned twice, as ravaged, or encamped in, by the English, when they attacked Wales on the north. Caradoc, or his interpolator, says, that after the death of Roderic the Great king of all Wales, in 876, many of the Welch of Strat-Clyde and Cumbria passed into Wales under one Hobert, because they were much troubled by the Danes in their old seats. This is extremely probable, as we know from Affer, and others, that the Danes in 875 ravaged the country of the Piks, and Strat-Clyde. But these refugees erected no kingdom, nor seized any country from the Saxons, as Lluyd pretends. And we know from the most authentic writers, as above shewn, that the Welch held Cumbria till 945, and Strat-Clyde till about 970, at least. Llwyd is even so ignorant as to make his Constantine, who, as he fables, was killed at Lochmaben in 870, king of a vast territory, including Strat-Clyde, Cumbria, and Galloway! But his errors are so childish, and truly Celtic, that they confute themselves, tho they had the fortune in their day to excite the scorn of Languet, and anger of Buchanan¹.

¹ Languet in his Epistles to Sir Philip Sidney has many contemptuous remarks on Lluyd's *Commentariolum*, such as, 'Ego non ita contemno tuum Cambrum ut tu scribis, nam nisi esset in ipso aliquid ingenii, non posset tam insigniter ineptire.' &c. Buchanan's Second Book is foolishly occupied with a hot battle against Lluyd: and nothing can be more diverting than to see one fabulist fighting against another.

P A R T III.

The Northern Britons, otherwise called Caledonians, or Piks.

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*The Northern Britons, otherwise called Caledonians,
or Piks.*

CHAPTER I.

*The Northern Britons, Caledonians, Piks, one and
the same people.*

ALL the inhabitants of Britain were anciently, as now, stiled Britons, tho of very different origins. The Belgæ of the south and east, who were Germans, and used the Scythic or Gothic tongue, were equally Britons with the Cimbri, Cumri, or Welch, of the west, who were Celts. The Caledonians of the north, who were also Germans from Scandinavia, are called Britons by Tacitus, Herodian, and Dio; and with the utmost propriety, as inhabitants of Britain: just as now the English are Britons, as well as the Welch, tho

widely different in origin, speech, and manners; and as we call the British settlers in America, Americans. But, after the Roman power had been a long time established in Britain, the name of Britons was considered as confined to the provincials; and toward the close of the third century, or the year 296, we first find the Piks, or Caledonians, mentioned as not Britons, but enemies of the Britons, even from the time of Julius Cæsar^a.

In the great ignorance which attended the decline of the Roman empire, the affairs of Britain, ever obscure, because of the distance of this island from Rome, the seat of science, were clouded with almost total darkness. Inasmuch that about 550 we find Procopius^b describing Britain as the land of departed souls. No wonder then that in Britain itself, where no writers arose, all genuine materials for history should perish. Gildas, the first British writer, was born in the year of the battle of Badon, as he tells us, ch. 26. that is in 520; and he wrote, as he there says, forty years after it, or in 560. A tumultuous period of more than a century had elapsed, between the arrival of the Saxons and his time; and, as there was no difference between the Belgæ and Saxons in speech, and the latter had made the former their *coloni* and slaves, Gildas naturally thought his Welch countrymen the genuine Britons, and calls them Britons exclusively; an error which modern indolence and superficiality have, as usual, blindly followed. Indeed the Roman troops who held Britain, being stationed along the walls of Antoninus and Hadrian, and in the midst of the Welch inhabitants of Britain, called them Britons, and their tongue the British; regarding the Belgæ as late settlers, and the Welch as the people produced by the island itself, or genuine Britons. We ourselves speak of Ameri-

^a Panegy. Vet.

^b Lib. IV. and see Appendix.

cans, without specifying whether we mean the first savages, or European settlers; and of Britons, without specifying English, or Welch, Scottish, or Irish of the highlands; yet we use Britons also specially for Welch, and the British for the Welch tongue. These inaccuracies are understood at the time; but in the course of ages cause great confusion. It is therefore necessary to attend to them; and to reflect that at first, as natural, the Romans called all the nations found in Britain by the name of Britons; that, after they had subdued the greater part of it, they naturally blended the whole inhabitants of the subdued part under the name of Britons, calling the Caledonians, or Piks, who were alone unsubdued, by their own name; and that the Welch were peculiarly called Britons then, as now; tho they by no means constituted all the Britons. Without attending to these circumstances, we shall fall into an error found in the modern writers; namely that the Piks and Belgæ were Welch, because they were Britons. The Piks and Belgæ were indeed Britons, as the English now; but no more Welch, or Celts, than the English now. There is nothing new under the sun; and antiquaries might avoid many errors by recourse to analogy. So much for the Piks being called Britons by Tacitus, and others; who at the same time call them Caledonians, and their country Caledonia.

That the Caledonians and Piks were one and the same people is now universally allowed; and it is almost ridiculous to shew this, for, as the ancient Spartan said to him who had composed an eulogy on Hercules, *Does any one dispraise him?* so it may be said here, *Is any one ignorant of this?* Buchanan, Camden, Lloyd, Innes, Whitaker, the Macphersons, O'Connor, D'Anville, tho differing widely in other points, all join here. Stillingfleet, in the same work^c, first doubts; then grants this.

^c Origines Sacræ, p. 246.

Usher i cannot tell what to make of, for he produces the words of Tacitus, that the Caledonians were of German origin, to shew that the Piks were of Scandinavia ; and the words of Eumenius, shewing the Caledonians to have been Piks, and that the Piks infested the Britons before the time of Julius : then he gives us Geofrey of Monmouth ; from whom he draws three later Pikish colonies to have entered Britain after the time of Christianity. It is impossible even to guess at his thoughts on the occasion. In his whole work there is a most remarkable defect of understanding. All authorities are quite alike to him. Tacitus and Hector Boethius, Beda and Geofrey of Monmouth ; historians, and fabulists ; writers of the first century, and of the seventeenth ; are all jumbled together in uniform confusion ; are all quoted with equal attention, and confidence. If one were desired to mention a work capable of shewing that an author may be vastly and profoundly learned, without possessing common judgement, Usher's *Antiquitates Britannicarum Ecclesiarum* might be produced as an instance. Yet is this work precious as a commonplace book, for he gives all that all have said upon his subject : and, had his judgement equalled his learning and diligence, he would have been the most valuable antiquary that the British islands ever produced. With regard to the three colonies, as they rest solely on Geofrey of Monmouth, and authors who follow him, i shall not abuse the reader's attention so far, as to offer even one remark on them.

It once appeared to me, before i had fully examined this subject, that the Piks were a new race, who had come in upon the Caledonians in the third century, and expelled them ; and that the Caledonians were Cumraig Britons. But finding Tacitus, Eumenius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Beda, in full and direct opposition to this idea ; and not chusing to imitate our Scottish antiquists in fighting
against

against authorities, which are the sole foundation of historic truth, I was forced to abandon this ground, tho perhaps many an acute and wise argument might have been employed in it, to prove truth falsehood, and falsehood truth. For ancient authors are the sole guides to real truth in historic antiquities; conjectures and arguments are only ingenious lyes.

That the Caledonians and Picts were the same, is in fact as uncontrovertible, as that the same people who called themselves *Hellenes* were called *Græci* by the Romans. This will appear to the reader from the accounts of the ancients concerning them, which shall here be briefly stated, and will at once ascertain their identity.

Tacitus is the first writer from whom information can be drawn on this subject; for, before the campaign of Agricola, Caledonia was unknown to the Romans. He calls this country, being all that part of Britain which is to the north of Loch Fyn and Tay, by the special name of CALEDONIA; and that always when it is mentioned, so that the name was fixt and precise. The people he calls by the general name of *Britanni*; but expressly gives his opinion that they came from Germany, because they resembled the Germans in their large persons, and red hair^d; whereas he thinks the other Britons came from Gaul. This sufficiently marks the Britons of Caledonia to have differed from the rest: and the signs given by Tacitus are, in a savage state of society, very striking and obvious.

Ptolemy forty years after marks the people of this part of Britain by the name of ΚΑΛΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ^e,

^d Namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant. *Agricola.*

^e Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Λαιλαμονίου κόλπου μέχρι τοῦ Οὐαζαρ εἰς χυσεως Καληδονιοί; καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καληδονίης δρυμός. “From the *Lclamoniæ Sinus* (Loch Fyn) to the frith of *Varar* (Murray) are the *Caledonii*; and above them the Caledonian Forest.” As the province *Vespasiana* existed in Ptolemy’s time, he regards it as Roman, and the Caledonians as confined beyond it’s limits, that is in the present highlands. With Geographers *above*
OR

or Caledonians, and gives us the names of all their tribes, or shires as we might now style them.

Dio who wrote about 230, or the century after Ptolemy, also calls this people Caledonians. As all Britain up to the wall of Hadrian had now long been provincial, that part was regarded as wholly Roman; and this writer speaks of the *Mæataë*, or *Cumri* between the walls, and the Caledonians beyond them, as the only two nations in Britain; that is the only two nations who kept up the British name as *Barbari*, not *Romani*. For the provincials were often styled *Romani*; and the world was regarded as either *Romanus*, or *Barbarus*. A distinction as old as the days of Ovid, who uses *Barbaria* often, in his *Tristia*, for all without the Roman pale.

In 296 the name of *Picti* is first used by Eumenius the Panegyrist, in his oration, spoken at the end of that year, upon the victory of Constantius over Allectus. The passage is a famous one; and the more so, as it's construction in the old editions puzzled Buchanan, and the best Latin scholars. No apology need therefore be made for dwelling a little on it's explanation. A large piece of the preceding text is also given that the connection may be clear.

Quam [Britanniam] Cæsar, ille auctor vestri nominis, cum Romanorum primus intrasset, alium se orbem terrarum scripsit reperisse; tantæ magnitudinis arbitratus, ut, non circumfusa oceano, sed complexa ipsum oceanum, videretur. Sedenim, illa ætate, nec Britannia ullis erat ad navale bellum armata navigiis; et Romana res inde jam a Punicis, Asiaticisque, bellis, etiam recenti exercitata Piratico, et postea Mithridatico, non magis terrestri quam navali usu vigeat. Adhuc natio etiam tunc rudis, et soli Britanni, Pictis modo, et Hibernis, assueta hostibus adhuc

implies the north, but Ptolemy's north is really the west of Scotland, so that the Caledonian forest was on the west of the highlands.

feminudis,

seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt. Prope ut hoc uno Cæsar gloriari in illa expeditione debuerit quod navigasset oceanum. Eumen. Panegy. Constantio, apud Panegy. Vet. Livineii, Antv. 1599. 8vo. n. xi. prope medium orat.

The sentence beginning *Adhoc natio*, &c. and in which the Piks are mentioned, is most obscure. Buchanan proposes to understand *soli Britanni* in the genitive, ‘of the British soil;’ and the meaning would be ‘Moreover the nation then rude, and only used to the Piks and Irish of the British soil, enemies even half naked, easily yielded to the Roman arms.’ Strange that Buchanan^f, so able a Latinist, should suppose *Britanni* here used adjectively, while *Britannici* is the only word used in prose in that way. *Britannus* is merely a Briton; *Britannicus*, British. But let us hear the unprejudiced interpretation of foreigners, who do not see with the jaundiced eyes of our sickly antiquists, and indeed so uniformly give every point against them, that they are left, like straw-crowned kings, to enjoy their frenzy and darkness alone. Jaques de la Baune, the learned editor of the edition for the use of the Dauphin, gives us the sentence, and notes, thus:

*Adhoc natio * etiam tunc rudis, et soli Britanni, Pictis modo et Hibernis † assueta, hostibus adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis, signisque, cesserunt.*

NOTES. * *Duarum vocularum transpositio obscuritatem huic sententiæ induxit; ita vero hanc restituit Acidalius:*

^f Sir George Mackenzie attempts to confirm Buchanan’s interpretation, from Lucretius,

Nam quid Britannum cælum differre putamus,

and Claudian,

Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni

Littoris.

But Sir George ought to have known that poetical licence will never authorize prose. The diminishing of words, called *aphæresis* by grammarians, is common in Greek and Latin poetry, but never used in prose at all; and for a good reason, because the rhythm forced poets to use it, whereas in prose it could serve no purpose in the world.

Adhoc natio etiam tunc rudis, [A] Piētis modo et Hibernis assueta hostibus: adhuc feminudi, [et soli, Britanni] facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt.

+ *Piētis*] *Piēti populi sunt Scotiae cis Tavam fluvium.*

Hibernis] *Populi insulam oceani Britannici incolentes non minorem Anglia.*

This correction of Acidalius was most plausible, and approved by all, till the last valuable edition of the Panegyrist, by Schwarzius and Jæger, appeared at Nurenberg, 1779, in two volumes octavo. In which, from an excellent manuscript often used and referred to in that edition, this famous sentence stands ultimately blameless, and perfect, thus:

Ad hoc natio etiam tunc rudis; et solis Britanni Piētis modo et Hibernis adfueti hostibus, adhuc seminudi, facile Romanis armis, signisque, cesserunt.

In the notes is first given the correction of Acidalius as above; then follows,

Proba hæc lectio ex MS. Gud. et solis Britanni Piētis modo et Hibernis adfueti hostibus, adhuc feminudi, facile Romanis armis, signisque, cesserunt. Sic magis exprimitur quasi vilitas veterum Britannorum, qui quondam eo facilius a Julio Cæsare vinci superarique potuerunt, quod solis Piētis et Hibernis hostibus olim adfueti fuerint; et quod sine gravi armorum genere, adhuc seminudi, prælia inierint. Swharz.

If, with Acidalius, who wrote about the year 1620, we had read *soli Britanni*, we must have understood that Cæsar fought with *Britons alone*, whereas Allectus had also Roman soldiers; so that Constantius did more than Cæsar, as he fought not with Britons alone, but with Romans. But this reading of the MS. above-mentioned, puts this out of the question; and the whole passage above produced may be translated as follows. The Panegyrist, to shew the greatness of the actions of Constantius in Britain, compares them to those of Julius Cæsar.

“ Which

“ Which island of Britain when Cæsar, he the au-
“ thor of your name, had entered first of the Romans,
“ he wrote that he had found another world; thinking
“ it of so great size, that it might seem not to be sur-
“ rounded with the ocean, but to embrace and com-
“ mand it. But still in that age Britain was pro-
“ vided with no ships for naval war; while Rome,
“ even from the Punic and Asiatic wars, and also
“ recently exercised with those of the pirates, and
“ of Mithridates, flourished not more by land than
“ by sea. Moreover the nation he attacked was
“ then rude; and the Britons, used only to the
“ Picts and Irish as enemies, and being yet them-
“ selves but half naked, easily yielded to the Roman
“ arms and ensigns.”

Eumenius lived at Augustodunum, or Autun, in Burgundy, a place now so famous for its number of Roman antiquities, that it has been called the French Rome. He was there professor of rhetoric^s; and pronounced this oration in presence of Constantius Chlorus, on his victory over Allectus, who had slain Carausius, and usurped the imperial title in Britain, and who fell in the battle which was fought in the year 296. All commentators agree that this oration was pronounced in the end of that year. Constantius was then only Cæsar, whence Eumenius calls Julius the author of his name, which was always given to an apparent successor to the empire. This custom of pronouncing panegyrics on the Emperors and Cæsars, in their presence, seems to have begun in the time of Trajan; and Pliny's Panegyric on that prince, pronounced in his presence, is extant and well known. Greater accuracy in facts, and in expression, was naturally expected, and necessarily exercised, on such solemn and trying occasions, when the first audience in the world were witnesses of the narra-

^s See the prolegomena to the editions of the Panegyriste, Delphini, or Schwarzii.

tion of their own actions, than even in history, where the writer remained unawed and unchecked in the silence of his cabinet. Hence the great anxiety expressed by Eumenius and the other Panegyrist. In his oration to Constantine, the Ninth in the collection, Eumenius expresses the utmost awe on the occasion; and says that what is spoken must be *diu scriptum, et sæpe tractatum*, 'a long time written, and often revised.' And, in beginning this to Constantius, he is more than ordinarily solicitous, observing, among other points, *Quo in genere orationis quanta esset cura, quantus labor, quam sollicita veneratio!* 'In this kind of oration how great the care, how severe the labour, how anxious the veneration!'

As such accuracy and care were required, and Eumenius, from his residence in Gaul, had opportunity for all information concerning Britain, we may rely upon his testimony as most authentic. And it is valuable, not only for the very first mention of the Piks, but as it shews that, even before the time of Julius, they had infested the Britons. Now the Britons, in all these orations, are uniformly the provincial Britons. At this time, as formerly shewn, the name of Mæatae had utterly perished; and there is every room to believe that, when Carausius divided Britain from the Roman empire, in the year 286, the Mæatae gladly joined their British brethren, in asserting his right against the Roman Emperors; and that under him their name was lost in the general one of Britons. For, after this period, the Roman writers know of no Britons beyond the Clyde and Forth. The Piks are considered as not Britons, tho undoubtedly in Britain. When all were barbarous alike, all the nations in the island were Britons: but in process of time the nations south of the Clyde and Forth became romanized; and it was discovered that the Caledonians, or people beyond these rivers, were quite a distinct people from the Cumraig Britons, their

their southern neighbours, and the chief inhabitants of the island in number. The name of Caledonians, or Woodlanders, given them by the Welch, was exchanged for their real name, the name they gave themselves, *PIHTAR*, latinized *PICTI*. Perhaps it may be thought that as the Piks were really the *Vik Veriar* of Norway, and had that name in all appearance long before they came to Scotland, Eumenius meant to express the invasions of Britain by the Piks from Norway, before they effected a settlement. But it will be afterward shewn that the Piks were questionless settled in that part of Britain which lyes north of the Clyde and Forth, long before the time of Julius, so that this idea must fall of course. And the Romans could have no knowlege that the Piks ever were in Norway, or ever invaded Britain from thence, if they even knew that Norway existed: they only knew them as of Caledonia, a country now long divided from provincial Britain, and considered as another land. That Eumenius, in particular, only regarded them in this view will appear from another passage of his, now to be produced.

This occurs in the panegyric to Constantine I. son of Constantius, spoken in March 310, as the commentators shew, and is at full length as follows:

Dies me ante deficiet, quam oratio, si omnia Patris tui facta, vel hac brevitate, percurram. Cujus etiam suprema illa expeditio non Britannica tropæa, (ut vulgo creditum est) expetivit; sed, diis jam vocantibus, ad intimum terrarum limen accessit. Neque enim ille tot tantisque rebus gestis, non dico Caledonum, aliorumque Pictorum, silvas, et paludes, sed nec Hiberniam proximam, nec Thulen ultimam, nec ipsas, si quæ sunt, Fortunatorum insulas, dignatur acquirere: sed (quod eloqui nemo voluit), iturus ad deos, genitorem illum deorum ignea cæli astra refoventem prospexit Oceanum; ut, fruiturus exinde luce perpetua, jam
VOL. I. H *videret*

videret illic diem pæne continuum. Vere enim profecto illi superum templa patuerunt; receptusque est confessu cæli Jove ipso dexteram porrigente.

This passage has no variation whatever, either in MSS. or editions. To understand it, we must observe, that the Caledonians or Piks making incursions into provincial Britain in 306, Constantius Chlorus, who a year or two before became Emperor (*Augustus*) of Gaul and Britain, prepared to repel them. As he was setting sail from Gaul for that purpose, his son Constantine, (afterward the first Christian Emperor), whom Galerius had detained in Italy as an hostage, escaped, and came to him. They proceeded into Britain together, when the Piks were repelled; and Constantius soon after died of a fever at York, that same year. The Panegyrist, with rhetorical fancy, takes advantage of this expedition of Constantius, just before his death, into the north of Britain, famous among the Romans for the sun's being hardly ever beneath the horizon in summer, and for being regarded as another Thule, and extremity of the world. Hence the orator represents this expedition into the secret recesses of the ocean, perpetually enlightened by the sun, as a meet preparation of Constantius for his journey to the elysian fields, which were pictured with similar circumstances, of remote station in the ocean, and eternal sunshine. Take this translation.

“ *The day would fail before my oration, if i were*
 “ *to run over all the deeds of thy father, even with*
 “ *this brevity. His last expedition did not seek for*
 “ *British trophies, (as vulgarly believed,) but the*
 “ *gods already calling him, he came to the most secret*
 “ *bound of the earth. For by so many, and so great,*
 “ *actions, he deigns not to acquire, i will not say the*
 “ *woods and marshes of the Caledonians and other*
 “ *Piks, but Ireland which lyes nighest, nor distant*
 “ *Thule, nor even, if such there be, the Islands of*
 “ *the Fortunate themselves; but, (what none inclined*

“ to speak,) being about to go to the gods, he beheld
 “ the ocean, that father of the gods, refreshing the
 “ fiery stars of heaven; that, being about thence to enjoy
 “ perpetual light, he might have a foresight of eternal
 “ day. For in the end of spring, the temples of the
 “ gods were open to him; and he was received into
 “ the assembly of heaven, Jove himself reaching to
 “ him his right hand.”

It appears unquestionably from this passage that the Caledonians were Piks: and this is happily marked by the very author who first uses the name of *Picti*, so that not a doubt can remain even with the most ignorant. The *other* Piks were those of the Hebudes and Orkneys, and perhaps the *Vesturiones*, or southern Piks of Fifeshire, &c. who are put by Ammianus Marcellinus as one of the two divisions of the Piks; the *Dicaledones* being the other. Lindenbrogius^c inclines to think that the *Caledones* of Eumenius should be redd *Dicaledones*, as Ammianus writes them. But not one MS. or edition has the least hint of this, as may be seen in the latest and best editions, for the Dauphin, and of Schwartz and Jæger. *Non Dicaledonum*, as Lindenbrogius proposes to read for *non dico Caledonum*, spoils the sense of the passage, and cannot be received: tho indeed it were madness to alter a text for a conjecture, in spite of all MSS and editions. Lindenbrogius, i believe, mentions that some nameless MS redd so; but such assertions are frequent among critics, not for their conjectures: and as this MS. has escaped

^c In notis ad Ammian. Marcellin. as quoted by Goodal, in his Introduction to Fordun. Goodal supports this opinion, 1. because the readings of MSS ought to be preferred. 2. because *Caledones* is not used by other writers, but *Caledonii*. To the 1st answer, that not one MS has been found which reads *Dicaledonum*. 2d. That not one latin author uses *Caledonii*. Tacitus has only *Caledonia*: the Greeks, Ptolemy and Dio, have indeed *Καλνδονιοι*. But the later argument is childish, for all know such terms to be identic, as *Brito*, *Britannus*; *Franco*, *Francus*; *Burgundio*, *Burgundus*, &c. &c.

all editors, it is probable it never existed, save in the brain of this commentator; and can in no event be preferred to the several MSS followed by editors.

Ammianus Marcellinus, under the year 360, mentions the Piks thus : *In Britanniis cum Scotorum Pictorumque, gentium ferarum, excursus, rupta quiete, condicta loca limitibus vicina vastarent, &c.* ' In Britain, when the excursion of the Scots and Piks, fierce nations, having broken the peace, ravaged the APPOINTED GROUNDS, next to the boundaries,' &c. These CONDUCTA LOCA, OR GROUNDS MUTUALLY APPOINTED AND AGREED ON near the boundaries, were surely those of the future province of Valentia : and this passage strongly confirms the idea that the bounding wall was not regarded as the utmost limit of Roman power, but that there was a warlike frontier-territory beyond it ; which in times of peace was possessed by the Romans, and defended by them in times of war. For they were not such cowards as to act on the defensive alone ; and from behind their wall. The wall was as that of a city ; and a large territory lay beyond it. In this passage of Ammianus, the very first mention of the Scots appears ; and it is immediate, and present ; not retrospective, as that of the Piks by Eumenius. From Eumenius we learn that the Piks existed in the time of Julius Cæsar : from Ammianus, that the Scots existed Four Hundred and Ten years after, or in the year 360. It is most remarkable, that Eumenius never mentions the Scots, but by the general name of *Hiberni* ; and he joins these *Hiberni* with the Piks, as Ammianus does the *Scotti*. These *Scotti* of Ammianus were infallibly, as shall be shewn, the people of Ireland. They sailed from Ireland to Argyle, and the neighbouring shores of Pikland ; where it was necessary they should join their allies, that they might act in conjunction : for it is remarkable, that we never find

find them attacking the Britons in Wales, or indeed at all, save in conjunction with the Piks; while the Caledonians or Piks were always making incursions alone. But of the Scots fully hereafter.

Under the year 364, Ammianus has *Picti, Saxonisque, et Scotti, et Attacotti, Britannos ærumnis vexavere continuis*. 'The Piks, and Saxons, and Scots, and Attacotts, vexed the Britons with continual harassments.'

Under the year 368, he says, *Et quoniam, cum Constantis Principis actus componerem, motus adolescentis et senescentis oceani, situmque Britannia, pro captu virium explanavi; ad ea, quæ digesta sunt semel, revolvi superfluum duxi. Illud tamen sufficit dici, quod eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicaledonas et Vecturiones, itidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur*. 'And since, when i composed the acts of Constans, i explained as well as i could the motions of the flowing and ebbing ocean, and the situation of Britain, i have held it superfluous to revolve matters already digested. Let this suffice to be said, that at this time the Piks, divided into two nations, the Dicaledonæ and Vecturiones, as also the Attacotts, a warlike nation, and the Scots, wandering diverse ways, ravaged many parts.' Constans was made Cæsar in 334; and three years after came to the empire, and reigned thirteen years, or to 350. He made a voyage to Britain in winter from Bononia, or Boulogne; and there is a ~~coin~~^{medallion} on the occasion, of ~~small~~ brass, representing Constans in a ship, with the legend BONONIA^d. The loss of that part of Ammianus is irreparable; as his testimony would have put the history of Scotland, at the first revival of literature, upon quite another footing, by shewing at once what we are now obliged to glean from many minute lights, that

^d Vaillant, Banduri, &c.

Scotti was but a new name for the *Hiberni* or Irish Goths, now beginning, like the Caledonians, to be known by the name they gave themselves : and that *Attacotti*, or Hither Scots, was but a name given the Dalreudini, or first colony of Scots that settled in Argyle, about the year 258, as shall be after shewn.

This passage of Ammianus is of itself a sufficient proof that the Caledonians and Piks were one and the same people. For the *Oceanus Deucaledonius*, or that bordering on the *Dicaledonæ*, is put by Ptolemy on the north of Scotland, where the Orkneys lay in it. The *Vecturiones* are by Richard placed in Fife, Angus, &c. on the east of Scotland, beyond the Friths, but south of the Grampians. The divisions of Ammianus are thus the same with those of Beda^e, who mentions the Southern Piks below the Grampians, (*Vecturiones*;) and the Northern Piks above them, (*Dicaledonæ*.) The former name of *Vecturiones* was in fact the proper and real name which the Piks gave themselves, the *Pehtar* or *Pechtar* of the Saxon Chronicle, the *Vikveriar* or *Vichtveriar* of the Icelandic writers softened and latinized. As these lived close to the frontier, and had, in peace, frequent intercourse with the Provincials, the name they gave themselves was of course known, and used. While the northern Piks living at a distance, the old name of *Caledonæ* and *Dicaledonæ* was as naturally retained for them. Yet it was known that they were all Piks, all one people, though divided by a chain of mountains. Mr. Macpherson derives the name *Deu Caledones* from their Northern position, and i am happy for once to agree with him. Mr. Whitaker objects

^e III. 4. Provinciis Septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est eis qui, arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis, ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestrati. Namque ipsi Australes Picti, qui intra eosdem montes habent sedes, &c. *Intra* here means *on this side*, in opposition to *extra*, *beyond*.

that

that they were on the west, not the north; because Ptolemy's map places the Deucaledonian sea on the west; but this is a mistake, as, tho Ptolemy's Caledonia runs in a wrong direction, it by no means follows that his position of the Deucaledonian ocean is wrong; for, in it the Orkneys, and Thule, are rightly placed by him to the north of Scotland, and it is humbly presumed that Mr. Whitaker did not imagine the Orkneys were on the West of Scotland, while Ptolemy rightly marks them, and the Deucaledonian ocean, to the north. And that the Deucaledonian ocean was to the north of Scotland is clear from Ptolemy, who says it is another name for the Sarmatic or Baltic^f; which reached, as the ancients thought, from the Sarmatæ or Russians on the east, to the Caledones on the West. The name of the ocean on the West of Scotland was the Irish Sea, the *Οκεανος Ιουερνικος* of Ptolemy, in which were *Μοναιδα* or Maun, *Μαλεας* or Mull, the *Ebudæ* or Hebudes, &c. To the south of which was the *Οκεανος Ουιερ-γιουιος Oceanus Vergivius*, now St. George's Channel. Did Mr. Whitaker seriously imagine there was no name for the sea north of Britain, while that to the west had, by his account, three names for three different parts? The sea on the east is in Ptolemy the *Οκεανος Γερμανικος*, or German Ocean.

I need not insist on a matter so clear, and known to all, as that the Caledonians and Piks were the same; but shall only further add the authority of Beda, who marks the settlement of the Piks in the north of Britain as aboriginal. For he says that, *cum plurimam insulæ partem incipientes ab austro possedissent* [Britones] *contigit gentem Pictorum*

^f Απο αρχῶν δὲ τῷ συντημένῳ ὠκεανῷ, τῷ περιέχοντι μὲν τὰς Βρεττανικὰς ἡσθες, καὶ τὰ Βορειοῖα τῆς Εὐρώπης, καλούμενῳ δὲ Δουηκαλυδονίῳ τε καὶ Σαρματικῷ. *Lib. VII. c. 5.* (A summary Description of the World.) 'On the North joining to it the Ocean, which embraces the British isles and most northern parts of Europe, and which is called Deucaledonius, and also Sarmaticus.'

de Scythia, ut perhibent, longis navibus non multis oceanum ingressam, &c. I. 1. ‘when the Britons, beginning at the south, had possessed the greatest part of the island, it happened that the nation of the Piks from Scythia, entering the ocean in a few large ships, as is reported,’ &c. The Britons of Beda were the Welch, whom he regarded as indigenes, knowing nothing of the Gael who preceded them. But that these Welch or Cumraig Britons possessed all Britain for centuries before Julius is unknown to none. Beda proceeds, *Itaque petentes Britanniam Picti habitare per septentrionales insulae partes ceperunt: nam austrina Britones occupaverunt.* Ib. ‘Therefore the Piks going to Britain, began to inhabit the Northern parts of the island; for the Britons had seized the Southern.’ These Northern parts of Beda were all north of Clyde and Forth, as is clear from ch. 12. of this book of his History, and other places, where he describes the Piks as coming from the north, and explains that he means the north of the firths of Clyde and Forth, which were indeed in the time that the wall of Antoninus was first abandoned, as above shewn, the natural bounds between the territories of the Caledonians, and the Southern Britons. It is unnecessary to dwell longer on a subject so universally known and allowed, as the identity of the Caledonians and Piks, and which indeed no one can deny who does not prefer his own dreams to ancient authorities of the best note, so that laughter, and not confutation, should be employed against him.

CHAPTER II.

The opinion of Camden and Lloyd, and that of the two Macphersons, concerning the Origin of the Pìks, examined.

BEFORE shewing the real origin of the Pìks, it becomes necessary to discuss two erroneous opinions, which have been formed concerning it. It is granted by all, and indeed beyond a doubt, that the Pìks must either have proceeded from Scandinavia, Germany, or the South of Britain; and that they must have been either Goths or Celts. If Goths, they spoke the Gothic tongue, the parent of the present German, Danish, English, &c. If Celts, their speech was either Cumraig, that of the German Celts; or Gaelic, that of the Gaulic Celts.

That they were Goths shall be shewn in the next chapter, from the consent of all the ancient writers, and from other arguments. That they were Celts is the opinion now to be confuted. The authors who assert the Pìks to have been Celts are divided in their sentiments: for I. *Camden*, writing his *Britannia*, consulted some silly Welch antiquist about etymologies, and other matters, as he did not understand Welch himself^a. This same Welch prophet wishing to make all great folks Welch, as his countrymen delight to do, tho the honour be generally rejected, thought he might

^a This appears from Camden's MSS. in the British Museum.
lay

lay violent hands on all the fame of the Piks; and thus led Camden into a blunder, which a Welch mind could alone originally form. This opinion Mr. *Lloyd*, another Welchman, alfo gave^b. Innes fell into it, and it forms the radical blemifh of his book. II. The two *Macphersons*, led by the fame wife Celtic ideas, defire we fhall in future, know the Piks to be Gaelic, ‘of hur own dear blood and bone:’ and they fay believe otherwife at your peril; for are not we fkilld in old Celtic, and new, in nonfence and nonentity? And what are Tacitus, and Ammianus, and Beda, and all thefe old fools to us? Do not we know more than them? Are not we two new wife men of quite a new fchool?

The firft opinion that the Piks were Welch, i fhall ferioufly examine, as fuch men as Camden and Innes have adopted it. But i fhall firft fay a very few words to the fecond, as foon as laughter will permit me to go on; for it is impoffible to preferve one’s mufcles, when one meets with utter abfurdity and ignorance in the garb of wifdom and learning.

Were i ferioufly to argue in the prefent ftate of fcience, that the Piks were not merely a branch of the Gaelic race, who went from Ireland to the weft of Scotland, where they were known in all ages, as at prefent, for a fet of Celtic favages, incapable of any progrefs in fociety; i fhould be in as awkward a fituation as when fhewing againft Mr. Macpherson that the Sarmatians were not Germans, and that a Ruffian is not an Englifhman. Dr. and Mr. Macphersons *affert* that the Scotifh Highlanders are the real Caledonians, and the Piks a part of them; the only diftinction being that the former lived on the north and weft; while the latter lived on the eaft and fouth. Such opinions have attended, and of themfelves fully mark, the

^b In the Preface to his *Archæologia*, 1707.

utter decline of learning in Scotland; for every man who has redd much on the subject, knows them to be absolutely ignorant and false, and contradictory to all authorities and facts. In the dark *strange phantoms appear*, but in the light we view only real objects. When the tide of learning again flows in Scotland, it will swallow up for ever those weeds and vermin, which its ebb has left on the shore. Superficial dabblers talk of opinions: men of experienced learning talk of authorities and facts. An ignorant writer will advance any opinions that sooth his sickly fancy, or gratify his prejudice; because he is ignorant of the truth, ignorant of his danger, ignorant of the contemptuous thoughts entertained of him by others.

Why should i produce the whole writers, ancient and modern, from the first century to the eighteenth, to shew that the Piks were quite a different people from those Irish Highlanders? In the next part it will be shewn, that the later passed from Ireland in the year 503, and were long confined to Argyle, as the Attacots had been before them: and that even the Attacots, the first Irish colony that ever set foot in Pikland, did not arrive there till 258. I need not produce all the ancients whom Mr. Macpherson says, with so much modesty, that he has examined and confuted. Mr. O Conor well observes that he has done this by the second sight; and he accordingly bears the superb epithet of *second-sighted* among the Irish antiquaries. The next chapter of this work, and the Fourth Part, in which the origin of the Old Scots is treated, will sufficiently shew from all ancient authorities that the opinions of the two Macphersons, are truly Celtic, foolish, and ignorant in the extreme. Heaven forbid that a regular answer should be given to such weak visionaries, who are five or six centuries behind the rest of mankind, and not so knowing now as Geoffrey of Monmouth, their brother,

brother, was in the Twelfth age! But this whole work is one answer to them, tho most unintentionally; for in it is shewn, from facts and authorities, that neither Piks, nor Scots, were the earliest known inhabitants of Scotland; that the Caledonians or Piks were Goths, and differed as widely from the Dalriads or Highlanders who were Celts from Ireland, as a Dane from a wild Irishman.

The opinion of Camden, and of Innes, calls for quite other treatment. Respectable and modest writers are entitled to be answered with respect and with modesty: while those, whose superciliousness and impudence can only be matched by their superficiality and ignorance, deserve not that regard which they never shew to others. The reasons, if they may be so called, for the opinion that the Piks were Welch, are, 1. That Tacitus, Herodian, and Dio, call them Britons. 2. That they were painted as the other Britons. 3. That the names of mountains and rivers on the east of Scotland, where the Piks dwelled, are often Welch. Of all these in order.

I. That the Piks are called Britons by Tacitus, Herodian and Dio, is no more to be wondered at, than that the English are now called British, or that the English in America are called Americans; tho the English, it is humbly presumed, be neither Welch, nor American savages. In the beginning of the last chapter this was spoken of; and this argument is so silly, that it is unnecessary to take up the reader's time with it. How came the Belgæ of the south to lose their name in that of Britons, tho they were infallibly Germans, speaking the Gothic tongue, and no more Welch than the English are? Was it not because that, if a hundred nations, of a hundred different origins, had been settled in Britain, they would all have been with the strictest propriety called Britons? Let me here answer an argument of Mr. Lloyd's
of

of equal ponderosity ; heavy indeed as lead, and which may however be melted with the slightest fire. He says, ‘ that the Piks were Britons without question, appears by the name of them in Latin and Irish.’ I know not whether this *reason* be Latin or Irish. The Latin name is *Picti*, from the name they gave themselves *Pibtar*, as the Saxon Chronicle shews. The Irish is *Cruitbneich*, which, as some Celtic dreamers say, means *painted*, others say it means *wheat-eaters* ; and it appears to me to be a mere patronymic, as common with the Celts, from *Cruthen* the first king or leader of the Piks. Thus *Dalreudini* were from *Reuda*, &c. But an author must have a right Celtic understanding who builds on such trifling nonsense. Mr. Lloyd tells us, that the old British manuscripts call the Piks *Fitchid Guydhelians*. And the Guydhelians, he says, were the Gaelic aborigenes of Britain who were driven into Ireland by the Welch. I suspect from this that the word Guydhelians was used for any aboriginal, or most ancient inhabitants. But this seems to be one of the mistakes, which those learned in Welch say are not unfrequent in Lloyd, who is thought to have known Irish better than the antiquities of his own country, for his countryman Humphry Lloyd says, the Welch annals call the Piks ‘ *Phickjaid, id est, Phichtianos*.’ And Sir John Price, in his description of Wales, says, that in the sixth century “ *X Gwydbyl Phictiaid*, which is to say, the “ *Irish Picts*, did over-run the Isle of Man.” Now that many Piks were settled in Ireland is certain from Adomnan, in his life of St. Columba, Probus the old author of the Life of St. Patrick, the Annals of Tighernac and Ulster, and other pieces of Irish antiquity : and Lloyd seems to have mistaken the *Gwydbyl Phichtiaid*, or *Irish Piks*, for the real original Piks. Indeed names and facts, that are so unfortunate as to pass thro Celtic strainers, receive so deep a tinge of nonsense, that it is almost impossible

impossible to discover their genuine hue. It is also most risible to see Mr. Lloyd have the Celtic marks upon him; for his argument is self-contradictory. He describes the Guydhelians as a race preceding the Welch; and their speech as more ancient than the Welch; yet he says the Piks were certainly Welch, because they are called *Guydbyl Pbichtiaid*, or Guyhelian Piks in old Welch MSS. that is, the Piks were Welch because—they were not Welch. If Lloyd had any meaning at all in these strange arguments, it was, that the Piks were Britons, because their name, as he dreamed, implied both in Latin and Irish that they painted themselves, as the other Britons did: and this leads to the second argument.

II. That the Piks were Welch Britons, because they painted as the Britons did. This argument is also self-contradictory, for there is not the smallest authority to believe that the Welch Britons, or any Celtic people, ever painted themselves at all. It was a custom common among the Gothic nations, to make themselves look terrible in war; and was with them, a mark of nobility, so that, as the ancients say, the most noble had the greatest number of figures stained on his body^c. Cæsar found nothing of this in Gaul, among the Celts proper; but when he passed into Britain, he found such Britons as he saw at all, that is the Belgæ, a Gothic people, painted; and he of course ascribes this custom to the Britons in general. That any Celtic people ever used this custom, no authority can be produced. That it was common to the Goths, the following instances will shew.

We learn from Pliny that this custom was that of the whole Dacians, and Sarmatæ^d. Under the

^c Herodot. V. 6. Excerpta Diod. Sic. Valesii p. 357. Dio Chrysost. Orat. xiv. Mela II. 1. III. 6. Ammian. Marcell. xxxi. 3. Isidor. Orig. xix. 23.

^d XXII. 1. Mareſque etiam apud Dacos et Sarmatas corpora ſua inſcribunt.

name of Dacians Pliny expressly says, he also includes the Getæ^e. Vast names, and which spread over a territory of three thousand miles in circumference! The Sarmatians, or Russians, are out of the question; save that they shew the universality of the practice in the east, whence the Goths came.

Herodotus^f describing the manners of the Thracians, whom he calls the most numerous people in the world, save the Indians alone, tells us that they all marked their bodies with these stains, and that it was permitted to no slave, being a badge of freedom. Nay nobles and chiefs were distinguished by the nature and number of these marks, as now among the American savages.

Valerius Flaccus, speaking of the men of Lemnos, who married Thracian slaves, says

Picta manus utraque placet sed barbara mento.

Argonaut. II. 150.

Phanocles Lesbios, and Plutarch^g, say the Thracians marked their women so, for tearing Orpheus in pieces; a fabulous origin of a real custom.

From Dacia, and Getia, it has been shewn in a special Dissertation, to be found at the end of this work, that all the German and Scandinavian nations proceeded. But the custom of staining their bodies was not retained by all, because it was done with a particular herb, which could not be procured in all countries. This herb was the *glastum*, or woad, which stains blue. However many nations of Germany and Scandinavia still held this custom. Of these the Geloni and Agathyrsi are the most famous in antiquity. Herodotus^h says, that Gelonum was a large town of the Budini, walled with wood: that the people of it were originally Greeks, and used a speech partly

^e IV. 12. Getæ, Daci Romanis dicti.

^f V. 6.

^g Phanocles apud Stob. Serm. 185. Plutarch de fera numinis vindicta.

^h IV. 108.

Scythic,

Scythic, and partly Greek : that the Budini were also called Geloni by the Greeks ; but that the Geloni were agricultors, the Budini only pastors. He also mentions that the Budini had red hair, and blue eyes, and were a great nation. The red hair and blue eyes were the two grand features of the Scythians, or Goths ; of whom descended the Germans and Scandinavians, so noted for those features in ancient and modern authors. Melaⁱ apparently from Herodotus, says the Budini lived in large deserts, while the Geloni had a wooden town. The name of Budini is not, it is believed, mentioned by other writers ; and that of Geloni seems to have swallowed it up, as Herodotus says it had in his time among the Greeks. By the Geloni we must therefore understand not the mixt Greeks of Gelonum ; but the wide nation of the Budini where it lay. These Geloni are, by Pliny, and Solinus, placed beyond the fountains of Borystenes, or Nieper, and next beyond them were the Agathyrsi, whom Ptolemy and others place on the east shore of the Baltic in present Esthonia. Mela specially remarks, that among the Agathyrsi these marked stains were signs of nobility, as the persons were more or less distinguished by them^k. Agathyrsi is apparently a Greek name, from the thyrsus of Bacchus, whose mysteries they delighted in ; as the Thyrsagetæ, another Gothic nation, haply received their name from the same cause. For all the Scythians, or Goths, were in their first seats great celebrators of Bacchus ; who, by all appearance, was a monarch of the primitive Scythic Empire in Asia ; and a great conqueror, who made a famous expedition into India, and from thence introduced the vine into his dominions.

ⁱ I. 19.

^k Agathyrsi ora artusque pingunt : ut quisque majoribus præstat ita magis vel minus : cæterum iisdem omnes notis, et sic ut abluere nequeunt. II. 1.

Hence his orgies were celebrated by the Scythians, or Goths, in climates where the vine was unknown; and the wine of barley, as they called it, or ale, supplied it's place. The Thracian bacchanals are most celebrated, and from them passed to Greece; tho Thrace was cold, and no vines grew there. The real name of the Agathyrsi is unknown; but that they were Scythians, Goths, Germans, is apparent from all accounts. Stillingfleet¹ plausibly thinks them the very people afterward called Piks: and that they were a branch of the Peukini, or Basternæ (whom i take to be the Peohtar, or Piks) seems probable because the Peukini, and Sitones are the only Scythians, Goths, Germans, who can be traced up to the south-east shores of the Baltic, and into Scandinavia, as shewn at length in the Dissertation annexed to this work.

The *Arii*, a nation in the very heart of Germany, are also specially mentioned by Tacitus^m to have used this practice of staining their bodies.

But it may be said that this practice does not appear to have been general among the Germans, else Tacitus would have remarked it; and that tho the Scandinavians may have used this practice, without it's ever coming to the knowledge of the Romans, who knew next to nothing of Scandinavia, yet it is not to be conceived that, had the Southern Germans and continental Belgæ, used a practice so uncommon, and new to the Romans, it could have escaped the special notice of Cæsar, who warred with them, and of Tacitus who resided among them, as Procurator, or Lieutenant Governor of Belgium. How then came it to be used among the Belgæ of Britain, and not among the Belgæ of Gaul?

To this be it answered, that the practice was an ancient one, wearing out gradually. The first German nations we find mentioned in history, the

¹ *Origines Sacræ.*
VOL. I.

^m In Germania.

Agathyrſi, and Geloni, uſed this cuſtom; and it is reaſonable to think it was then practiſed by many other German nations, as we find it in the time of Tacitus retained by the Arii. The *glaſtum*, or woad, was not every where to be found; and it would ſeem that, even in Pliny's time, the Britiſh Belgæ had it from Celtic Gaul, where no uſe was made of it^a. If in the heart of Germany we find the Arii, not a diſtinct people, but only a tribe of the Lugiones, retaining this cuſtom, tho the other tribes of the Lugiones had it not, is there any wonder that a part of the Belgæ ſhould keep it after the others had dropt the practice? Surely the former caſe is ſtronger than the later; for the Arii were not divided from their brethren, ſave by imaginary bounds; while the Britiſh Belgæ were ſeparated by the ſea, and in a world apart. It muſt alſo be remarked that in iſlands, as containing remote, diſtinct, and ſeparate ſocieties, all old cuſtoms, traditions, &c. are retained much later than in the vague and mixt continent. Thus in Scandinavia, which is ſo nearly an iſle, that it may be called one, the old Scythian, or Gothic manners, traditions, &c. were retained many centuries longer than in Germany: and in Iceland, tho very lately peopled, ſtill many centuries longer than in Scandinavia, ſo that all Eddas, Sagas, &c. are of Iceland. Britain was even by Cæſar, in the then improved ſtate of Roman navigation, regarded as another world. No wonder then that it's inhabitants retained many cuſtoms for centuries after they had been dropt by their brethren of the continent. The Belgæ of Britain were, as all allow, ſettled here three or four centuries before Cæſar, when the cuſtom of ſtaining their bodies was, in all likelihood, retained by many of the

^a Simile plantagini glaſtum in Gallia vocatur, quo Britan-
norum conjuges, nurſque, toto corpore oblitæ, quibuſdam
in ſacris, et nudæ, incedunt, Æthiopum colorem imitantes.
XXII. 1.

German nations, and by them in particular. Hence it is not surely matter of hesitation that the British Belgæ should still stain their bodies; while their ancestors of the opposite shore had abandoned the practice, and conformed to the more advanced state of society, which the Greeks of Marseilles had by degrees introduced into Gaul. And when we know from Tacitus that the Arii, a part of the Lugiones, used this custom, while the other Lugiones did not, all hesitation must surely vanish.

That the Celts ever stained their bodies, there is not one authority, if I mistake not, that can shew. Had the Cimbri, Cumri, Cimmerii, or German Celts, who once possessed from the Euxine to the British sea, used this mode, so remarkable a circumstance could never have escaped the old Greek authors, who mention the Cimmerii, nor the Roman authors, who so particularly describe the persons of these Cimbri who fought with Marius. That the Gaulish Celts did not use it, is plain from Cæsar, who, tho he delineates the most minute matters concerning them, says nothing of this; but mentions it as a novelty, when he comes among the Belgic Britons. But were we to grant for one moment, that the Cumraig Britons had this custom, it is palpable they must have received it from their Gothic neighbours and inmates, the Piks on the north, or the Belgæ on the south. Or to close all argument on the point, let us grant, tho a palpable falsehood, that the Welch Britons exclusively had this practice at first, what would the use of it among the Piks prove, but that, as a fashion, it had passed to them from their southern neighbours? Are we of Britain all French, because we dress ourselves after the French, and not after the Spanish fashion? Thus the argument is, in every view, not only futile, but puerile. Let us now pass to an argument of real weight, and the only one such that can be offered on the subject.

III. That the Piks were Welch, because the names of rivers and mountains, in those parts of Scotland where they dwelled, are often Welch. To him who has read the first Part of this work this argument must fall of itself. For he will there see that the Cumri actually possessed Scotland for centuries before the Piks came in. Rivers and Mountains are perpetual, and their names cannot be easily changed; while towns, and other works of man, are perishable, and their names are often altered. Hence in Greece and Asia many rivers and mountains retain, to this day, the names by which they were known to Homer, 900 years before Christ, and perhaps actually bore 900 years before Homer. Yet these parts have passed through many scenes of barbarism, and utter desolation; while in Scotland there has been but one change of inhabitants on the east, when the Piks drove out the Cumri; and but four on the west, when the Piks succeeded the Cumri, and then gave up that part to the Dalriads, which was afterward subdued and held by the Norwegians, tho not exclusive of the Dalriads, the most numerous inhabitants. But it is the east and south parts which here require our notice: and that in the former names of rivers and mountains should sometimes be still Cumraig, is surely no matter of wonder when the Piks expelled the Cumri only about two centuries before Christ. Had this event happened two thousand years before Christ, these names would have nothing surprizing.

But as the subject of names of places in Scotland has been seldom touched, a few remarks shall here be offered upon it. And first some hints shall be premised concerning what is called the Celtic language.

In the Gothic language we have a monument of the fourth century, namely the Gospels, and other fragments of the Scripture, as translated by Ulphilas, bishop of those Goths who passed the Danube, and settled in Mæsia. The work which Ovid tells

us he wrote in this language has unhappily perished; but it must have been a fixt and exact speech before Ovid's time, else he could not have written in it. Accordingly we find it, in the Gospels of Ulphilas, as perfect and grammatical as the Greek, or Latin; and with perhaps as few anomalies as these tongues. Of this Gothic the Anglo-Belgic, commonly called Anglo-Saxon, of Cædmon and Alfred in the eighth and ninth age; and the Francic, Theudesque, and Icelandic, of several writers from that period, are mere dialects. The Codes of the Visigoths, Burgundians, &c. from the fifth century, also preserve many words and sentences of the Gothic tongue; as do Jornandes, and other early writers. So that the Gothic may be regarded as a fixt and written language from the Fourth century, to this day that it's dialects prevail over Germany, England, Scotland, and the Northern kingdoms. In the days of Ulphilas the Goths were quite unmixed with any other people; as was also the case with the Angli of the heart of Germany, and with the Icelanders.

Very different was the lot of the Celtic tongue. The Goths, pouring in from Asia, almost exterminated the Celts, or ancient savages of Europe, by the ferocious mode of carrying on war, so usual in the earliest times. In Germany but a few Cimbri, or Celts, were left about a hundred years before Christ; and of these few the greater part fell by the sword of Marius; the small remnant, confined to a little point on the sea, as Tacitus describes, was either cut off by the Germans, or quite lost as a drop in the ocean. In Gaul, as more distant from the Gothic progress, the Celts retained their possessions longer. Cæsar found a third part of Gaul still held by the Celtæ; that is, chiefly; for the boundaries of Celtic Gaul, the Seine and Rhone, as marked by Cæsar were geographic and arbitrary: and we find, among his Celtæ, nations

certainly Germanic, as the Senones, or Semnones, the Boii, &c. However, even excluding these nations, one third of Gaul was possessed by the Celts in Cæsar's time: but these Celts, in a century or two, totally exchanged their speech for the Latin; and Strabo vouches that even in his time the Latin was spoken generally in both Gaul and Spain. Nor does a scrap of the Celtic exist preceding the Tenth century, when by mixture it had become partly Latin, partly Gothic. The ancient Gaulish, or Celtic, is therefore universally marked by the learned as a lost language.

In Wales, indeed, and in Ireland, the form, and grammar, and doubtless many words of the two grand Celtic dialects, the Cimbric, or Cumraig, and the Gaulish, or Gaelic, have been preserved. But unfortunately the Welch were subject to the Romans, and incorporated with them, for four centuries: nay, for centuries before the Romans arrived, they had been surrounded by Gothic nations, the Piks and Belgæ. The Saxons also and Danes altered the Welch vocabulary by an influx of Gothic words; and when the language first appears in writing in the laws of Howel Dha, of the tenth age, and other genuine works, the grammar is indeed Cumraig, but the body of the language is as much Gothic, and low Latin, as Celtic. The reader must attend that it is a singular quality of the Celtic tongue, to corrupt and debase others, to it's own vague form, and especially by altering the beginning of words; so that it becomes as difficult to recognize them, as to know a person in a mask. A modern English word, or name, when cloathed in the Celtic habit, becomes as singular and old-like as a real Celtic word of two thousand years standing.

In Ireland where, as Leibnitz observes, the Celtic must be found if any where, an equal, if not greater, mixture took place than in Wales. The old Irish grammarians, as Mr. O'Connor remarks,

marks, call the Irish tongue *Berla Tabide*, or a mixt speech ; and with great propriety, for Cumri, or Welch, and Belgians and Piks from Britain, had all their share in the Irish tongue, even about the birth of Christ. Afterward the Danes settling in Ireland, ruled it for centuries ; and there is no fragment of Irish extant, which can be placed prior to the Danish settlement. Nevertheless the Gauls, or Celts, who first peopled that noble island, still remaining the most numerous, the grammar and structure of the speech are infallibly Celtic ; and it is as difficult to recognize the foreign words in Irish as in Welch, or more so. A learned Hungarian has observed, on the language of his own country, that tho the grammar and structure resemble the Hunnish, or Turkish, yet the words are very different, being generally either German, or Slavonic°. This will ever be the case in an ancient, but mixt language, for the form, grammar, or structure of a speech is radical, and fundamental : the words are in constant fluctuation. Nay the modern Greeks are an unmixed people ; and tho the grammar be the same, how different is ancient Greek from modern ! In like manner the Irish and Welch retained the Celtic grammar ; but their speech even in it's earliest remains is no more Celtic than the Hungarian is Turkish.

Some late superficial dreamers have asserted, that the Gaelic of the Highlands of Scotland is the purest dialect of the Celtic ! This opinion was unhappily advanced by people who tell us that poems, yet repeated in the Highlands, were repeated there in the same words in the third century. *Au miracle ! Au miracle !* Immortal languages of Greece and Rome, what are your glories to these ! All the eternal monuments of your authors

° Kol in notis ad Olahi Hungariam, Vindob. 1763, 8vo. p. 91. note.

Could not fix the spoken language half so long,
 as that of these savages has stood upon its own
 bottom. Certain it is, that in Wales and Ireland
 even the most learned find it difficult to interpret
 manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth age; and,
 were a poem of that period to be put into the
 hands of any of our highland translators, he would
 stamp, and stare, and give up the pursuit. Over
 all the globe, it seems, language, mixt or un-
 mixt, has changed with time, save in this fa-
 voured spot, where Eternity has built a nest for
 her own phoenix. Among the mountains of Swit-
 zerland and Biscay, the language is quite changed
 and corrupted; but among the mountains of Scot-
 land the mutability of human affairs has no power.
 No doubt a Celtic understanding will always be a
 Celtic understanding; and that folly imputed to
 the Celts by the Greeks and Romans^p remains un-
 impaired. But this Gaelic of the highlands is
 doubtless more corrupt than either Welch, or
 Irish. For the Attacots, or Dalreudini, who first
 settled in Argyle about 258, were a small colony
 from the north of Ireland, where both the Tuath
 de Danan, or Cumri, and the Cruithnigh, or
 Picts, had established themselves: nay were them-
 selves mostly Scots, or Goths of Ireland, tho in
 that country, being lost among the numbers of
 Celts who had fled there as to the last refuge, they
 had adopted the Celtic tongue, but doubtless re-
 tained much of the language of their ancestors, the
 Gothic. The Attacots were driven back to Ire-
 land in the fifth century. In 503 they returned
 with reinforcements, under Loarn and Fergus,
 and remained fixt. On all hands, save the west,

^p Diodor. Sic. V. p. 354. marks the obscure speech, and
 consequently understanding of the Celts.

Et tumidus Galla credulitate fruar.

Says a Roman poet; and another has

Vaniloquum Celtæ genus.

where the sea was their boundary, they were surrounded by Piks and Welch: the former were their allies, and no doubt many Piks remained among the new settlers, and many intermarriages took place. The Welch of Alclyde, or Strat-Clyde, appear also to have had much intercourse with the Attacots, Dalriads, or Highlanders. Above all, in the ninth century, the Hebudes were seized by the Norwegians, who held them for about four hundred years. Not a fragment of the Gaelic has been found in Scotland older than the Fourteenth age; and it is perfectly known that the present Gaelic of the highlands of Scotland is quite full of Norwegian words. Hence this speech must be much more corrupt than any other Celtic dialect; inasmuch as it's written monuments are five centuries more modern, and, before the writing began, a grand revolution and total intermixture had long existed. For in these ilands of Hebudes, the Celtic tongue had a better chance than in the highlands of Scotland, where constant intercourse with the Piks, or Lowlanders, on one side, and the Norwegians on the other, must have totally changed it. In short, those skilled in the Celtic of Ireland pronounce that of the highlands of Scotland a corrupt dialect, even of the Irish Celtic, which is itself totally corrupt. In the whole highlands, and western iles of Scotland, are numerous descendents of the Piks and Norwegians; and the Irish speech and manners spread over parts uninhabited by Irish, so that, as shall after be shewn, the inhabitants of these countries are as mixt as their speech. The Celts being natural savages, and regarded as such by all writers of all ages, their tongue was simple and poor, whence they were always borrowing of others; while hardly in modern European language can one word derived from the Celtic be found. Our Celtic seers of etymology, ignorant of all these facts, derive modern words from the Celtic, without

out suspecting the real truth, that the Celtic words are derived from them. Without complete knowledge of the Gothic, and it's dialects, no man ought to meddle with Celtic etymology, else he will blunder in utter darkness. For want of this knowledge, Mr. Whitaker has derived near 3000 English words from the Welch, which had in fact pass from the Belgic, Saxon, and Danish, into the Welch; and most of them may be found in the Gothic, Theudesque, and Icelandic, to which they could never pass from the Welch. The Goths were the conquering people, and superior in all things to the Celts; and so numerous that they spread over all Europe, and great part of Asia, many centuries before Christ, while the Celts were pent up in two or three little corners.

Celtic etymology is indeed the peculiar madness of this superficial age. Etymology of names, whether of persons, or places, has been in all ages synonymous with complete folly. In the old time *Britain* from *Brutus*, *Scandinavia*, a *scandendis navibus*, *Visurgis*, *quod vi surgat*, were thought pretty and apt. Next Hebrew and Phœnician etymologies were introduced by Bochart. Now Celtic is the word; and etymologists are more mad than ever, for the Latin and Hebrew were fixt and ancient tongues; whereas this Celtic is a vague mixture of many languages, and so soft and indeterminate in orthography, that, as Buchanan observes of the etymology of his time, *ex quolibet quodlibet fit*, you may make what you please of whatever you please. We have seen Arthur's seat, and other common English names, derived from the Celtic! Indeed you may derive what you please from it; and with as much justice and truth, as Dean Swift ludicrously derives Greek and Latin names from plain English. We dream that these Celtic names just fit the persons, places, &c. but never dream that three thousand others would all fit just as well; and that a cap and bells would

would fit still better. Among the Saxon names all over England, Greek names over Greece, Latin over Italy, who has explained, or can explain one? In the name of good sense let us apply this to our Celtic nonsense. Every name that is thought with peculiar fitness to spring from the Celtic, i shall engage to derive with equal fitness from any tongue in the world, with the help of a dictionary. Suppose now for a specimen, we take the Spanish, and apply it to names in the highlands of Scotland. Take *Sonachan* and *Ardmallie*, names in Argyleshire, which first start to my eye in Mr. Pennant's map, is not *Sonada*, a tune, and *chança* a jest? The first place was one where the bards used to sing and play, anciently *Sonada-chança*, now by an easy contraction *Sonachan*. Is not *Ardmallie* from *Ardid*, a stratagem, and *mal*, ill, a place where a conspiracy against Fingal was defeated? Read Swift, good Celtic etymologists; read Swift.

Of all etymology whatever, the Celtic is the most uncertain, because the language is hardly a written one, and its orthography, on which etymology depends, is quite various and lax. The old Celtic is totally lost; and to derive old names from the Irish or Welch Celtic, is as ludicrous as it would be to derive ancient names in Greece or Italy, from modern Greek or Italian. Etymology of names, whether of persons or places is totally delusive; for we know not the reason of the name, or whether it had any reason at all. Such etymology is therefore always folly, but Celtic etymology is sheer madness; for we do not only know nothing of the reason of the name, but we know not even the Celtic tongue.

In these remarks, therefore, on names in Scotland, i have nothing to do with etymology, but merely with the *form* of the name, which marks it Welch, Irish, or Gothic, as such names occur in Wales, Ireland, or Germany, and the northern kingdoms.

kingdoms. Thus Clyde, Douglas, Lanerk, are names in Wales as well as in Scotland: *burgh* is common in the Gothic kingdoms, &c. &c. Our observations shall consider the names of, I. Rivers. II. Mountains. III. Towns.

I. RIVERS. These retain their names even longer than mountains, for they often run thro so vast a territory, that to change the name in one spot were most unnecessary, and inconvenient; and thro the whole, impossible. On the west coast of Scotland there are no rivers beyond the Clyde, but an exuberant number of excellent bays, creeks, and rivulets, swarming with fish, the wealth of the ocean; and which, had not the country been resigned to the savage indolence and ignorance of Celts, would, centuries ago, have enriched that shore to a degree surpassing the eastern. Had the industrious Goths possessed this, as well as the east, these fine natural havens would have been adorned with glittering towns and villages, and the heathy dales with plenteous harvests. But when these Celtic cattle allowed a country so fertile as Ireland, to lye uncultivated, and her spacious plains to run into marshes, it is no wonder that they have neglected the western mountains of Scotland. Nor can any progress in society be ever expected from them, so that the plantation of little colonies, from the south and east, is the only plan which can ensure an improvement of the western coast of Scotland. These bays and creeks foolishly called lochs or lakes, have sometimes names apparently Celtic, as *Linnhe* and *Duich*; but far the greater number retain the Gothic form, either from the Piks who once held all this tract, and even in Columba's time, 565, possessed Hyona or Icolmkill, nay till the ninth or tenth century all save Argyleshire; or from the Norwegians, who had the western iles, and part of the western coast. Such Gothic names are *Long*, *Strevan*, *Ridan*,
Fyne,

Fyne, Awe (water), *Craignish, Melfort, Etive, Sumart, Sheil, Moydart, Morrer, Carran, Torredon, Gare, Broom, Calva, Heather, &c. &c.* If any Celtic dreamer derives those from the Celtic tongue, any person the least skilled in the Gothic can repay him with Gothic etymologies. The names of the *HEBUD ILES* are also Gothic. *Arran, Arroë* an ile in the Baltic, *Aran* the name of a man in *Torfæi Norveg. I. 307.* *Bute, Bote*, antiently *Bot*, the name of a man, *Worm. Ser. Reg. Dan. p. 28.* *Botkerke* in Sweden, *Bote* a town there^p. *Ila* and *Sura* have the Gothic termination of ilands, *a* iland^q. So *Colonsa* and *Oransa*. *Mull, Moll-sund* in Norway. *Uist* or *Vist*, from Gothic *Visi, Vist*, the west, as the most west-erly. *Haris* (*baar*, high) the hights; *Lewis*, the lees or low parts: *Herro* is an ile on the coast of Norway. *Staffa, Staaf* also an ile on the Norwegian coast, and another in Sweden, *Staf*, a rock in Norway, *Torf. I. 64.* *Staf* a pillar. *Egg, Eggia-ford* in Norway, *Egsund* in Sweden, *Egholm* of Denmark, *Eggi* a farm in Norway, *Torf. I. 64.* *Rum, Rom* an ile of Denmark; *Ruim* the old Belgic name of *Thanet*^r. *Skia* (corruptly called *Sky*, as *Ar* is called *Air*), *Skuo* one of the *Ferroe Iles*. In short the names even of the smallest illes are all Gothic; even the two *Cumbras* at the mouth of *Clyde* have the Gothic *a* or *oe*, *iland*, the ilands of the *Cumri* or *Welch*.

It is from the names of rivers on the east and south that the argument springs for the *Piks* being *Welch*. And several of these names are doubtless

^p *Bleau's Atlas* has been chiefly used, and may be consulted by the reader who wishes to verify the names here given.

^q 'Ey, insula, Swedis et Danis, *öö:eyland*, insula.' *Wachter*. To spell *island* is not only foreign to pronunciation, but to etymology. So the Saxon *thoh* we spell *though*, and plead etymology!

^r *Insula quid dicitur in Saxonica lingua Tenet, Britannico autem sermone Ruim. Affer. Vita Alfredi, p. 7.*

Cumraig, but prior to the Pikiſh time. Beginning from the north of the eaſtern ſhore, *Devon* ſeems the firſt river which perhaps bears a Cumraig name. Next is *Dee*, certainly Welch, as it is the name of a river in Wales; and the word in Cumraig means *water*. Then are two of the *Eſks* which abound in the ſouth and eaſt of Scotland, and are alſo Cumraig, *Yſk* alſo meaning *water*, and being the name of ſome rivers in Wales. Next *Eden*, alſo a river in Cumberland. *Tiviot*, the Welch *Tevy*. Another *Dee* in Galloway. The *Clyde*, as in Wales; where alſo a town called Lanerk ſtands on the river. Theſe names are all Cumraig; and precedent to the Pikiſh times.

On the other hand, many names of rivers in the north, eaſt, and ſouth of Scotland are Gothic.

To begin with the north, the Gothic names here may be from the Norwegians, who held Sutherland and Caithneſs, along with the Orkneys. The very name of *Sutherland* implies this, as it muſt have been ſo termed by a people who lived in the Orkneys, to the ſouth of which it is. The rivers *Durneſs*, *Navern*, *Armisdale*, *Hallow Dale*, *Forſa*, *Thurſo*, *Wick*, *Dunbeath*, *Hemſdale*, *Brora*, *Uynes*, *Caran*, *Conan*, *Beaulie*, are all Gothic. *Neſs* is moſt ancient Gothic; *Neffus* a river of Thrace near Abdera, mentioned by Laertius, and Iamblichus in the Life of Pythagoras, and many others. *Nairn*, *Findorn*, *Loſſie*, *Spey*, are Gothic; the laſt name *Spae* means, i believe, the foam of any violent water. *Uggie*, *Ythan*, ſeem Gothic; as does *Don*, the name of the river in England upon which Doncaſter ſtands. The *Tay* is by all appearance Gothic, *Tavus*, *Tau*; *aw*, or *aa*, is water, river, in the Northern and German tongues, as *Almund Aa*, *Almund* river, *Uldal Aw*, *Uldal* river; hence *Te-aw*, *The River*, by eminence. Forth is perfect Gothic; *Fiorda*, *firth*, the mouth of a river; the Firth of Forth is a ſolecism, meaning the Firth of a Firth. The *Tweed* is ſurely Gothic,
I for

for the name superabounds in Denmark and Norway, tho it be there generally given to towns and spelt *Twede*. The pastoral streams that fall into the *Tweed Gala, Etteric, Yarrow*, are Gothic; the last is also the name of a river in Northumberland, and is from the same root as *arrow* implying swift. *Annan, Nith, Orr, Fleet, Cree*, seem all Gothic: *Nid*, a town in Iceland, the river *Nid* in the dutchy of Triers in Germany; *Ora* a river in Norway, and another in Sweden, and another in Fifeshire, with the lake *Ora*; *Fleet*, swift. *Stin-far, Girvan, Dun, or Don, Air* (say *Ar*) *Irvin, Garnock*, are also Gothic.

The word *Loch*, universal for a lake in Scotland, is the same word prevalent among all the Scythic nations, from the beginning to this day: *Λακκος* Greek, *lacus* Latin, *lake* English, *lac* French, *lago* Italian, *lago* Spanish. The Northern and German nations are fond of the broad *oo* as the Greeks of *ω*, and also of aspirations, whence it is pronounced *loch*; and tho this term be very rare in Germany, and the north, yet in a curious map of the celebrated ile of Helgeland, or Holyland, on the coast of Jutland, to be found in Bleau's Atlas, occurs a small lake called *Pypers loch*. The Irish *Luagh* is something similar, but farther from the sound of *lake* than *loch*, for *gh* is not pronounced. Whether the name be originally Celtic, or Scythic, or both, seems dubious.

II. MOUNTAINS. The Grampian hills are the most celebrated mountains in Scotland: and the name is surely from the Northern *Gram*, the name of a town in Norway, but more remarkable as a personal appellation. *Gram* was the third king of Denmark, and a great name in the north,

* Wachter gives many meanings of *Loch* in old German, among which are *apertura, hiatus; cavitas rotunda*; 'an aperture, or opening,' which a lake is as to the ground.

for Torfæus' informs us that in the earliest times every independent leader was called *Gram*, and his soldiers *Grams*. Hence the Grampian hills seem to imply *the hills of warriors*. *Mormond* near Frazerburg is also Gothic, *mor-mond*, the mount by the sea. *Pentland* hills carry a singular appellation from *Pikland*; as when the Saxons seized Lothian, they called it *Pikland*; and Trumwine the bishop signs himself *Episcopus Pictorum*^a: the Piks retaining their possessions under the Saxons. As *Peht*, the Scottish pronunciation of the name *Pik*, feels uneasy and indistinct in the mouth, it was made fixt, and clear in *Pent*; so *Pentland* firth in the north of Scotland was called by the Norwegians of the Orkneys *Pichtland* firth, and was so spelled and pronounced even in the time of James V. as appears from that prince's *Navigation*^v. *Berwick law*, and the several *laws* in Scotland, are all from the Gothic *lag*, law, for on such separate mounts were courts held. They were sometimes also called *Montes Placiti*, as the Mute hill at Scoon. There is no occasion to dwell long on the names of mountains in Scotland, as like those of rivers, they are partly Cumraig from the Cumri, partly Gothic from the Piks. Of the former are surely the *Ochel* hills, *ochel* being the Welch for high. *Tinto* seems also Welch, as *Tintagel*. The *Rins* in Galloway seem doubtful if Celtic, or Gothic: the name implies a *ridge* of

Ea tempestate quilibet princeps, qui non alienis bellum gereret auspiciis, Gramus appellabatur, milites vero Grami. *Hist. Norw.* Tom. I. p. 379.

^a Langhorne Chron. Reg. Angl. London 1679, 8vo. p. 236, quotes a charter in the Cotton Library of Egfrid, king of Northumberland, which bears *Ego Trumwine Pictorum Episcopus subscripsi*. Perhaps this charter was burnt in the fire, 1730, but, if extant, query if genuine? Bede however IV. 26, calls Trumwine bishop of the Piks, and places his see at Abercorn.

^v Published at Paris 1583; and in the *Miscellanea Antiqua*, London 1710, 8vo.

mountains,

mountains, and approaches even to the English word, and to the general idiom, when it is said, that a chain of mountains *runs* thro a country. The Gothic *rune* and *runes*, whence the Runic character, means *lines*; whence may be the term as a *line* of mountains, a *row*. But *Rinn*, in Irish, implies a ridge of mountains; and the question remains, whether it past from the Gothic with the Firbolg, or from the Cumraig, with the Tuath de Danan into the Irish? For the Welch and Irish are such mixt tongues, that no reliance can be placed on them. *Rins* or *Rinds* is also a name for a villa or two in Fife, and other parts of Scotland, where no chain of hills exists: and the same fall of letters may be found perhaps in Otaheite, China, Norway, and Africa.

III. TOWNS. This class is the most important to the question. Towns, among the Scythians and Celts, were mere straggling huts placed near each other, but in no order nor contiguity. As these huts were of wood, no ruins remain. The Celts of Britain and Ireland had, no doubt, such towns, for they are found even among the most savage nations of Lapland, Kamchatka, America, Africa. Cæsar says of the Belgic Britons, that they gave the name of town, when they fortified a thick little wood with a ditch and rampart^a. But this was a town of defence; and they surely had hovels, a convenience not unknown to the most brutish nations. To sleep in the open air, in a British winter, was certainly impossible. And wherever men are found, huts are found; so that we may safely conclude, that villages or towns, like those of the Indians, were scattered all over Britain, and Ireland, upon their very first population, perhaps thousands of years

^a Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt; quo, incursionis hostium vitandæ causa, convenire consueverunt. *Lib. V.*

before Christ. Ptolemy mentions seven or eight towns in all parts of Ireland in his time; and these towns certainly were not fortified thickets, but large collections of huts. Indeed the word *oppidum*, used by Cæsar, and whence false ideas concerning the British towns have arisen, means always, in Latin, *a walled town, a fortified town*; and Cæsar's meaning is, that the Britons called such a wood a *fortified town*. The word *Vicus* is used always by Tacitus for what we call a town, an Indian town, as he describes those of the Germans to be. We must therefore understand Cæsar that the Britons dwelled in *vici*, or large straggling villages; and that their only *oppida*, or fortified places, were such as he mentions. Tacitus, describing the consequences of the defeat of Galgacus, says, *fumantia tecta*, the roofs all smoking, the villages being burnt by the Piks in their retreat.

Now, as, in America, the old name of the Indian town is often preserved, when an European town is built on or near the situation, we may, with all reason and analogy, apply this universal practice of new settlers, barbarous or civilized, to such names of towns on the east of Scotland, as seem Celtic. For the Piks, who drove out the Cumri, must have done it by degrees, and been well acquainted with the names of their states and towns, long before they fell into their hands. But i say as *seem* Celtic, for i am convinced that what we call the Celtic is so full of old Gothic words, that no man of sound sense will take upon him to say, if the term be really old Gothic or Celtic. Nations also borrow terms from each other, when they seem much adapted to the subject. Thus we talk of a *Savanna*, a Spanish term for a meadow. So in Scotland, *Strathmore* is the name of a river and it's dale in Sutherland; and Strathnavern, to a late period, that of a large tract on the river Naver, in the same county.

Strath is not found now in Norway, &c. where *Field* is used in that sense. Yet i know not if it be a term left by the Cumri, as the Welch have *Ystrat Alyn*, *Ystrat Marchelb*, &c. or a Gothic word from *strat*, *via*, whence our *street*, the *way of the river*; or from *stracka*, *extendere*, whence our *stretch*, the stretch or extent of the river. The words *Strath* and *Aber* have been chiefly marked as signs that the Piks were Welch. Yet the granting these words Welch would only shew that the Piks retained these terms of the old inhabitants, as the European inhabitants of America do Indian terms. But i suspect both of them to have past from the Gothic to the Celtic; and shall now consider *Aber*.*

At the end of Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, is a list of parishes in Scotland, which must serve us as an *Index Villaris*, till a work, so much wanted, be given to the public. In this we find the following names:

Aberbrothoc in Angus.
Aberchirder in Bamf.
Abercorn in Lithgow.
Aberdalgie in Perth.
Aberdeen in Aberdeen.
Aberdour in Fife.
Abferfoil in Perth.
Aberlady in Haddington.

Aberlemus in Angus.
Aberlemno in Angus.
Aberlour in Bamf.
Aberluthnit in Kincardine.
Aberneit in Angus.
Abernethy in Perth.

Now we are told that in Welch *Aber* means the mouth of a river. I know it is in Welch equi-

* Beda tells us, that a town at the end of the Northern wall was called *Peanvahal*, in the Pikish language: 'fermone Pictorum *Peanvahal*.' I. 12. This name, say Welch writers, shews the Piks Welch, as it implies, in Welch, 'the head of the wall.' But Nennius tells us, that the Welch name was *Pengual*. And there are no such words as *Pean*, *vahal*, or *fabel*, in the Welch language, as the reader will find on looking into Davises Dictionary, or Lloyd. *Pen* in Welch is the head; *gwal*, a wall. So that the English name *Penwallun*, added by Beda, is more Welch than the Pikish. In Gothic *Pena* is to extend; *Ihre*: *veal* is wall; *Lye*: so that if we infer the term Gothic the extent or end of the wall, there is greater reason on our side.

valent to the French *havre*, a *haven*; and they say a ship enters the *aber*, &c. But, alack, both in Wales and Scotland, it begins the names of towns many miles from the mouths of rivers, and where not a freshet runs into the stream. Hence Borlase, in his Cornish vocabulary, says, “*Aber*, a ford; a fall of water; a mouth of a river; a meeting of two rivers.” Here are meanings enough, because Borlase found towns beginning with *Aber* in all these situations. The fact is, that poor *Aber*, which has been tortured into so many meanings, is absolute German *Uber*, beyond, and means simply a town *beyond* a river, an idiom of the speech for *upon* it. Tho indeed it seems to have been always imposed by the most populous or noted neighbourhood, and applied when the town lay beyond the river as to them. And it is such old Scythic as to be absolute Greek, *υπερ*, *upon*, *above*, *beyond*. So that it appears to me originally, as in Greek, to have meant *upon*, as well as *beyond*; tho i am not sufficiently versed in old German to say if it, without an idiom, bears both meanings in that tongue^y. It is used for a town *upon* a river; and as we say Newark upon Trent, Newcastle upon Tine. But in old German the word seems to have been spelt *Aber* and *Eber*; for i find only one town with *Uber* in existence,

^y The old German *ober*, meaning *upper*, may also have share in the Scottish *Abers*. Our old chronicles put *Apur* for *Aber*, *Apurnethige* for Abernethy, *Aperfeirt*, &c. Innes, p. 778. So the Icelandic writers say *Apurden*, for Aberdeen. Wachter observes that *ober* is *superior*; but *uber*, *over*, *beyond*, *toward*, *behind*. ‘*Uber* vocula antiquissima, Hebræis *eber*, Persis *avar*, Gothis *ufar*, Francis *ubar*, Anglis et Belgis, *over*.’ ‘*Uber*, versus locum, trans locum, supra, retro.’ *Gloss. Germ.* Pelloutier observes, that the *Uberes*, a German people beyond the Rhine, probably received their name from the German *Uber*, beyond. In old Gaul was *Ebredunum*, and *Eburones*. Grotius in prolegom. ad Hist. Goth. says, ‘Ebrimor, Græcis Ebrimur, Jornandi Eber-mor, Transmarinus, natus trans mare, quale cognomen regum quidam in Gallia ab educatione habuit. Ebir quod nunc Over unde Ebirmuot, Ebirwir, &c.’

namely,

namely, *Uberling* upon the lake of Constance. Whereas many begin with *Aber* and *Eber*; as *Aberden* in the duchy of Bremen, *Aberburg* in Livonia, *Eberstein* in the Marquisate of Baden, *Eberan*, the German name of a town in Hungary, *Eberfort*, &c. *Aberford*, Yorkshire. Had we a list of the parishes in Germany, as many *Abers* and *Ebers* might perhaps be found there as in Scotland. Sometimes the word is put absolutely as *Loch Aber*, a district in Inverness-shire, *Habernes* in Denmark, *Aberick*, an ile on the shore of Livonia, *Abor*, a town of Norway on the sea. It may be suspected that *Alver*, which begins the names of several towns in Norway, is but a various orthography of the same word, *Alverstorp*, &c. Perhaps the Goths retained several old Cumraig names both on the continent, and in Britain, not only of rivers and mountains, but of old Celtic towns. But I rather suspect that the Welch, who are a people mixt with such Belgæ, or British Germans, as preferred a state of pastoral savageness to the Saxon yoke, received this, with many other words, from the Gothic. For the Welch language, as well as the Irish, is so full of Gothic words in disguise, that it is almost impossible to say if any particular word be originally Gothic or Celtic. That the word *Aber* is Gothic is apparent even from this, that the Welch do not understand the meaning of it. On the whole, such minute matters are most dark and uncertain; but this much is certain, that the *Abers* in Scotland no more prove the Pikes Welch, than those in Germany prove the Germans Welch. It must also be considered in examining this point, that, after the Christian times, the foundation of a church was commonly that of a town around it; and that the clergy among the Pikes were almost entirely Welch and Irish, for so little were the Pikes addicted to godliness, that there is not one Pikiish saint or even churchman on record. Now these Welch and

Irish founders gave Welch and Irish names to their churches, which, of course, passed to the towns. Let me observe in passing, that the above-marked obduracy of the Piks to Christianity is itself a strong sign of their Scandinavian origin, for the people of Scandinavia were so averse to Christianity, that none of them received it till the tenth century. If the Piks were Welch or Irish, who can account for Pikland being unknown in the Christian records, while all Wales and Ireland were swarming with saints?

But if the *Abers* could shew the Piks to have been Welch, then, by the same rule, the *Bals* might prove them Irish; for names beginning with *Bal* are frequent in Ireland, and also in the Pikiish part of Scotland, as *Balbirny*, *Balmuto*, *Balmerino*, *Balcarras*, &c. This is another word which might puzzle the most profound etymologist to determine, if really Celtic or Gothic. Nothing is more certain than that *Bal* and *Bally* are most frequent in Ireland, as initial of the names of towns; and that *Baille* in Irish implies a city, town or village. In Welch it means the head of a river flowing from a lake, as Twyne says; but, according to Price, a town: Davies doubts this last, except that it be from the Latin, *Villa*, or the Arabic, *Balad*, a town. I cannot help observing, that the Welch speech is to this day little known, for even Lloyd had no great skill in it; and that Irish interpreters are much more just and precise in disclosing their language. Nothing is also more certain, than that in the Icelandic or Gothic, *Bol*^z is a town, or village; and that the

^z ‘*Bol*, caput, *πολος*, Gr. *Bolwerk*, *Bol*, rotundus.’ Wachter. ‘*Bal*, vide *Bol*,’ *id.* As the first towns were on the tops of hills, the consonance of *caput* and *rotundus*, with a town, is apparent. The Greek *πολος* and *πολις* are in singular agreement. *Dun* is another German name for a town, and our word is a corruption of it, ‘*Dun*, civitas, urbs, oppidum.’ Wachter. ‘*Dun*, mons, collis.’ *Id.* ‘*Dunkel*, occultus, secretus.’ *Id.*

broad *o* is often used in the North, where *a* is used in Scotland, as in the names of islands which surround Norway, &c. end in *o* or *oe*, while in the Hebudes and Orkneys they end in *a*; the Scottish language not having the sound of *oe* in it. The names in Norway ending in *boll* and *bull* are quite numerous. But to close this at once, there are even *Bals* enough in the northern kingdoms to shew the word as much Gothic as Celtic; as in Denmark *Ballé, Balling, Balslo, Balkaré, Balkared, Balteberg, Langball, Nordballe, Ballum, Suderballig, Wullsbull, Balligard, Braballig*; in Iceland *Balbokill, Balgar*; in Sweden *Balsen* ile, *Balsfjord, Balby, Balabygd*. So also in the duchy of Bremen *Balli*; and in Friezland *Ballum*; in Shetland *Bal*.

Dal seems equivalent to *Bal*; and as in Scotland we have *Dalswinton, Dalserf, Dalrymple, Dalgus*, &c. so in Norway, Denmark, &c. *Dal* is quite frequent; as *Dalby, Dallerup, Dalby-neder, Dalby-offre, Dalmolle, Dalroth*, &c. &c.

The *Invers*, as *Inverleith, Inverary, Inverness*, seem also Gothic; as in Denmark are *Iversfeth, Iversbull*, and *Immerwath*, &c. Yet i believe in Irish the word means the mouth of a river: but were there ever any Irish in Denmark? Has not the word past from the Gothic to the Irish?

In Fifeshire there are many *Pits*, as *Pitferran, Pitmedie*, &c. &c. But this name has never been suspected either Welch or Irish; and such names are not to be found either in Wales or Ireland; but are frequent in England, as may be seen in the Index Villaris.

Let us now produce two specimens of numerous names on the east of Scotland, which are not similar to any, either in Wales or Ireland; and will of themselves turn this point quite the other way. The first is of *Kins*.

Kinkell in Perth,
Kinloch in Perth.

Kinnes in Kincardin.
Kinnethmout in Aberdeen.

Kinlofs in Moray.

Kinaird in Forfar.

Kinaird in Perth.

Kinneil in West Lothian.

Kinuel in Forfar.

Kinnellar in Aberdeen.

Kinnettles in Forfar.

Kinnore in Aberdeen.

Kinnoul in Perth.

Kinrofs in Kinrofs.

Kintale in Rofs.

Kintore in Aberdeen.

Nennius in ch. 19. speaking of the place at the end of the wall of Antoninus, which, Beda fays, was called Peanvahel, by the Piks, fays it was in Welch Pengaul, but *Scotice*, in Scotifh, *Cenail* pronounce Kenail. This place is now Kinneil in West Lothian. *Scotice* is infallibly *Irish*: and *Cean*, or *Cen*, pronounce *Kean*, and *Ken*, means the *head*, as Malcom *Ken-mor*, or Great-head: being equivalent to the Welch *Pen*. An etymologift would fay, it follows of courfe, that all thefe names in *Kin* are of Irish extract. But how then comes it to pafs, that in Ireland there is but one *kin*, namely, *Kinsale*; and even that, it is believed, was formerly *Kingfale*, while in England there are about thirty; as Kincot in Leicefter—Kinafton, Salop—Kinafton, Stafford—Kinder, Derby—Kinchley, Durham—Kinderton, Cheshire—Kineton, Warwick—Kinlet, Salop—Kinley, Glocefter—Kinley, Hereford—Kimmel, Denbigh—Kinarton, Chefter, with Kinton, Kinson, Kinver, &c. &c. to the amount of about fixteen more, as may be feen in the Index Villaris? What can be more uncertain than etymology of names? In the Northern Kingdoms i find no *kins* prefixt; but the word *kein* placed after feems the fame, as *Arefkein*, &c.

The other lift is of *Fors*.

Forbes in Aberdeen.

Forcaftle in Perth.

Fordyce in Bamf.

Fordon in Kincardin.

Forfar in Forfar.

Forgen in Aberdeen.

Forgond in Fife.

Forgondenny in Perth.

Forglen in Bamf.

Forres in Moray.

Forteviot in Perth.

Fortingal in Perth.

Fortrofe in Rofs.

Of

Of these Forteviot is very famous from an ancient palace of the kings of Scotland there, and in the old Chronicles Kenneth died at *Fortevioth* in 860; as did many others after. Not a *For* is to be found in Wales, Ireland, nor in the Northern kingdoms. In England there are many *Fords*, but no *Fors*; and *For* cannot imply *Ford*. I suspect the word is of the same family with *force*; and that it implies a place of strength. Or perhaps from the old German '*Forst*, *nemus*, *faltus*, *indago*.' Wachter. In which case it implies a town concealed in a grove.

The *Achs* are also very common in Scotland, as *Achterarder*, *Auchinleck*, *Acbarn*, &c. and are found in the Northern kingdoms, *Achterup* in Denmark, &c. They seem the English *Ack*, and *Ac*, which are also quite numerous.

I shall here beg leave to insert a list of names which occurred in turning over Bleau's Atlas, and which are clearly related to names in Scotland.

In Iceland *wick* and *ness* are frequent. In Norway is *Skonland* (Scoon)—*Noard Bugden*—*Skæn*—*Mios wand* (Mouse rivulet near Lanerk)—*Bouwe* (Bowie)—*Hoop* (Hope). In DENMARK, *Medelby*—*Almund* and *Almand* (Almond river)—*Haldum*—*Struer* (*Anstruther*)—*Wym* (Weems)—*Oxenwath*, *Immerwath*, *Giordwath*, *Heldswath*, &c. (*Carnwath*, &c.)—*Kolding* (Coldingham)—*Aller*—*Homoe* (Home and Hume)—*Todseff* and other *leffs* (*Lillyslef*, &c.)—*Glesmos* (Glasford, &c.)—*Falsbol*—*Lundby*—*Lille fulde*—*Alstede*—*Farilstofta* (*Farintosh*)—*Frisel* (old name of Frazer)—*Arnum*, (*Arnot*)—*Alkier*—*Gamel*, very frequent (real name of Campbell, it's pretended genealogy is a mere dream of Irish genealogists)—*Logum* (*Logan*)—*Galstede* (*Gala*, &c.)—*Osterlinne*—*Affyth* (*Affint*)—*Ellum* (*Elvonfoot*)—*Carlum*—*Carlbeke*—*Hoppe*—*Eytum* (*Aytoun*)—*Metbelbur*—*Binning*—*Melderup*

Melderup (Meldrum, &c.) *Wirrikeir*—*Alloe* (Alloa)—*Jesterup* (Yester)—*Kulundt*, not far from Alloa, (Callendar)—*Bockholm*—*Foulich*, (Foulis Ross-shire)—*Lockmart* (Lockhart)—*Avenberk*—*Wedel-spang* (Weddel)—*Dallroth* (Rothsay, &c.)—*Al-ver* (Alves and Alva)—*Birckholm*—*Schwansen* (Swanston)—In SWEDEN, *Carvasen*—*Eske ile*—*Skoen* in Nordland (Scoon)—*Lidb* Lidsdale—*Skon-land* in Finmark (Scoon)—*Rindo ile* (Rinds)—*Stora* (Story)—*Dalsarfe* (Dalserf)—*Betom* (Beton and Bethune)—*Melosa* (Melrose)—*Gillberg* (Gilchrist, &c.)—Besides these are *Wiems* in Finland (Weem and Wemys)—*Falkenau* in Livonia (Falkirk, &c.)—*Ales* in Livonia (Hailes)—*Adzel* in Livonia—*Hutten* in Sleswick (Hutton)—*Rothnefs* ibid.—*Coldenkirke* (Coldenknows, &c.)—*Stobben* in Holface (Stobo)—*Brodozw* (Brodie)—*Ruttin* (Ruthven)—In the duchy of Stormar on the Elbe *Alvesloh*, a town near a marsh—*Munkloh*, a town in midst of a marsh—In Freezland *Bimerwolde* (Bimerfide)—*Wymer* (Weem)—*Logen*—In Holland *Lammerschage* (Lammermuir).

In the descriptions of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, &c. printed by Jansen, 1655, I find the rivers *Lida* in Sweden (Leith) and *Uisk* (Ulk, or Ek): other Esks, as *Tornetresk*, *Enaratresk* in Lapland, and *Ulatresk* in Cajania: *Essa* in Bremen. Were the Welch ever in Lapland? *Gester* (Yester)—*Lethra* (Leith)—*Nyssa*, a river of Sweden (Nefs)—*Oderchwart*, or *Oiertquart*, (Urchhart,) a town in Bremen. *Asloa*, another name for *Opflo* (Alloa)—*Brevik* (Berwick)—In the Norway of Torfæus, is *Lanaefield*, so that Lan is not always to be regarded as Welch or Irish for church—*Kilestroom* and *Kiol hill* (Kyle)—The river *Galaæ* (Gala)—The history of Haldan the Black, Hafn. 1658, 4to, says he lost his life in a lake called *Ros* (Rofs)—There is a *Tullegarn* in Sweden (*Tullochgorum*)—and a district called *Mora* (Moray)

ray)—In Denmark a *Bruntlandt* (Burntiland) and *Corstorp*, (Corstorphin) ^a.

To sum up these remarks on the names of places in Scotland, which, tho perhaps they may little interest the reader, have cost me great labour, let it be observed, I. That two thirds of the names in the Hebud iles and highlands are infallibly Gothic: This is owing to three causes, 1. That the Piks, a Gothic people, possessed these countries down to the sixth century, when a small part was given up to the Irish, who gradually multiplied and seized on the iles and highlands, regions despised by the Piks, who crowded into the more fertile parts, the south of Scotland, and north of England. 2. That the Norwegians in the ninth century seized on the Hebud iles, and parts of the opposite shore, which they held four centuries. 3. That the highlanders, being a savage people, always engaged in petty emotions, many grants of forfeited lands among them were given to lowlanders. II. That almost the whole names of the North, East, and South of Scotland are Gothic, owing to the Piks, a Gothic people possessing these countries; as at times the Norwegians, another Gothic people, held the North; and the Saxons, another Gothic people, the south. But there are, or at least seem, two exceptions to this general rule, 1. That a few are Cumraig, owing to the Cumri being the first possessors of all Scotland: and to the churchmen who founded churches, around which towns rose, being often Cumri, and giving the places Cumraig names. 2. That a few are Gaelic, owing to the Irish churchmen, who swarmed in Pikland, from the seminary at Hyona, and from Ireland, down to the eleventh

^a It is suspected the name *Fife* arises from the plant with a pod resembling cotton, so common on the heaths of that country. Torfæus Orcad. p. 120, says *Fifa*, the name of a ship, is taken from that of the *palustris lanugo*, a plant whose cotton flies before the wind,

and

and twelfth centuries; and who denominated their churches, villages, and lands, in their own language; nay, as being the sole literati in Pikland, bestowed names perhaps even on large tracts, which passed into charters, and among the people.

I have with great care looked over the large Atlas of Scotland, by Pont, and find the above remarks universally applicable, and sufficient to account for all the names in Scotland. It is indeed curious to observe that in Aberdeenshire, for instance, the name of one village shall be absolute Gothic with *burgh*, another within a mile with *aber*, and another at same distance *inver*. But the single circumstance of the clergy among the Piks being down to the eleventh or twelfth century entirely Welch and Irish, will sufficiently account for this; if the *abers* and *invers* be indeed Welch and Irish.

Kils are also common in Scotland; but the word in Gothic signifies a *spring*, or *fountain*, as in Irish it implies a *cell*, or *chapel*, so that nothing can be founded on such names which are also common in England. *Cars* as *Carberry*, &c. have seldom if ever any connexion with the Welch *Caer*, a town, as they are frequent over all the globe. In Wales *Llan* is very frequent, signifying a *church*; and in Scotland it also occurs, tho rarely: one instance there is so far north as Moray, where *Lan-bridge* surely implies the church of St. Bride, or Bridget, and it must have been founded by some Welch clergyman. For as at first Ninian, Kentigern, and other early teachers of the Piks, were Welch; so in aftertimes the regions of Strat-Clyde and Cumbria proceeded, in conjunction with Columba's seminary at Hyona, to furnish clergy to the Piks; and not one name of a Pikish saint, or churchman, can be found.

He that would build any argument upon the Welch names in Scotland is desired to reflect that the names of places in Scotland may be about
twelve

twelve thousand; and of them not above thirty at the most even seem Welch. On the north, east, and south, not above fifty are Irish; while on the west about two thousand are Gothic; and the Gothic names in Scotland amount in all to about Ten Thousand. As for the Irish interpretations of these Gothic names, which any highland seer is ready to furnish, such as that a plain English name *Arthur's seat* is formed of three or four Erse words, &c. it seems doubtful whether they who advance such nonsense, or they who believe it, have most imbecillity. These Irish etymologies are mere second-sighted delusions. Swift's mock etymologies of *Andromache* from *Andrew Mackie*, &c. are rational in comparison of them. Were a Chinese or Otaheitan to ask one of these Celtic dreamers the meaning of any name in his respective country, the seer would tell him it was Gaelic, and all about it. The Celtic is so soft, unfixed, and nonsensical a speech, that from it you may make what you will of any thing. Thus the Irish word pronounced *awe*, for instance, and signifying *law*, is spelt *Adb*, *agh*, *ach*, *ath*, at pleasure. In other tongues a vowel is sometimes changed; but the consonants, which give a determinate form to the word, remain. What reliance can by any man of sense be placed on the meaning of names, when no one knows from what cause of ten thousand the name was given, or whether from any at all? What reliance, when a name will, in two centuries, totally alter it's form? What reliance, above all, on etymologies from the Celtic, a speech which alters it's consonants, it's very essence, at pleasure, and which declines it's nouns by changing their beginnings? These Celtic dreamers commonly catch at some locality, or descriptive attribute, which fits the spot, and then cook their etymologies accordingly. This gives them a plausible air to the superficial, who never reflect that any spot may have a hundred descriptive attributes

all equally fitting. M. Bullet, in his *Memoires sur la langue Celtique*, has derived the plainest English names from the Celtic, as *Oakland* from *Oc*, a little hill, *lan* a river, *d* from *dy*, two, &c. &c. Is not this lunacy? But such are all Celtic etymologies; and when a man of science erred so grossly, what must we expect from our shallow highland dabblers? Let us for ever leave those second-sighted seers to enjoy their own madness; and, as madness is said to be catching, let us keep them at a distance.

Even in Gothic, a fixt speech, a sensible writer will hardly venture to hint at the etymology of a name now and then; for nothing can be more uncertain. *London* means, we are told, a town in a grove, from *Lund* grove, and *dun* town: yet the name might with equal plausibility be derived from Sarmatic, Tartaric, Chinese, or Arabic. What do we know about the origin of the name? Who was present when the name was given? Do even the Indians know the meaning of their names of places, tho certainly imposed by their ancestors in the same language they still use, tho modernized? Are not names often mere jumbles of letters? A few Greek and Roman names of men had, and have, meanings; but produce, if you can, two names of places in Greece, or Italy, whose meaning is known. What is the meaning of Rome? What of Athens? What of Lacedæmon? What of Corinth? Look into the best Lexicons, are you not told that such are proper names, and admit of no explanation? Ask an Indian savage the meaning of the name of his town, he will tell you he knows it not; it was so called by his fathers. Are our Celtic etymologists of names of places more wise than the Greeks and Romans? Are they not more foolish than the Indians? Did ever any Indian enjoy the second sight? Must not our Celtic neighbours have a remarkable defect in their understandings, and be lost in the frenzy of disordered fancy?

fancy? What shall we say of those who trust them in points of science, when they cannot even be trusted in points of common sense?

I have dwelt a little on this matter because Celtic etymology is the frenzy of this shallow age. And shall only observe, before quitting it, that by Gothic names I mean such whose form is Gothic, and may be traced in the Northern kingdoms, Germany and England. I have above produced a small hasty note of identic names in the Northern kingdoms and in Scotland. And tho the present English certainly came from Denmark, and the German shore; yet I cannot trace half that number of identic names in those countries and England. In Ireland most of the towns were built by the Danes and English; but names of villages are often Irish, and in Wales most towns and villages have Welch names, so that Celtic names of towns have sure marks. For examples of what I call Gothic names in Scotland, take on the west *Dunson, Campbeltoun, Southend, Knapdale, Melford, Braccadale, Stornaway, Bewisdale, Annon, Dunstaffnage, Skipness, Pluckhart, Everdale, Kingburgh, Burg, Seaforth, Dundonald, Dunvegan, Limesholder, Barvie, Stonfield, &c. &c. &c.*

From all that has been said the reader will observe, that they, who infer the Piks to have been Welch, because thirty Welch names, or at least names in *Aber* and *Lan*, occur in Scotland, reason not more accurately than he who would prove the Germans Welch, because names in *Aber* and *Lan* occur in Germany. That the argument is in itself absolute Celtic and childish; for that granting these thirty names Welch, what is to be said to the ten thousand Gothic names in Scotland, which by this truly Celtic ratiocination are utterly forgotten? And that these few Welch names in Scotland are most easily accounted for, because they are either very ancient, as those of rivers and mountains especially, and perhaps of some towns,

and

and in that case remains of the old Celtic inhabitants ; or less ancient as some of towns and villages which arose from churches founded by Welch clergymen.

Having thus, it is hoped, satisfactorily answered the whole arguments, if they deserve that name, for the Piks being Welch, I shall give the reader an abstract of invincible authorities and facts, shewing that they were not Welch : and then, leaving this strange controversy, proceed to detail the real origin of the Piks.

1. Tacitus says that the Caledonians, or Piks, were of Germany, as he judged from their red hair, and other marks, that they were Germans. The Scandinavians ever have been, and are, remarkable for red hair, as are the other Germans. The Welch and Irish are a black-haired race. These marks in the days of Tacitus were as decisive, as that the African blacks have curled hair, the American lank hair.

2. Eumenius tells, that in the time of Julius Cæsar the Piks were the accustomed enemies of the Britons. Could the Britons, or Welch, be the accustomed enemies of themselves ?

3. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the Piks along with the Saxons, and other foreign nations, who infested the Britons.

4. Gildas says the Piks came *ab aquilone*, from the north, to infest the Britons, and always speaks of them as quite a different people. Had they been really of his own Welch countrymen, what food for declamations had their cruelty to their own brethren been !

5. Adomnan, who about 690, wrote the life of Columba, the apostle of the Piks, mentions that he had an interpreter between him and that people^b.

Columba

^b Illo in tempore quo Sanctus Columba in Pictorum provincia per aliquot demorabatur dies, quidam cum tota plebeius

Columba was an Irishman, so that the Píks could not be Gael : and even from this they would seem not Cumri, for we find Patrick a Cumraig preached to the Irish, without an interpreter, as may be seen in the many large lives of him, where not a word of an interpreter is mentioned.

6. Beda, a writer eminently learned and superior to his age, tells us the Píks came from Scythia, as the Britons from Gaul, and the Old Scots from Ireland. Jornandes, and most writers of the dark ages, call Scandinavia Scythia, and they thought the most ancient Scythians came from it. Beda also says there were in his time Five languages in Britain, Latin, English, Píkish, Scottish, British.

7. Nennius and Samuel, who both lived and wrote in conjunction, in 858, tell that the Píks came from the Orkneys, about 300 years before Christ. These writers were both Welch ; and their testimony is conclusive that the Píks were not Welch, for they speak of the Píks, while the Píkish name was in full power ; and mention the Píks as a people spreading, in their own time, from Galloway to the Orkneys.

8. The Saxon Chronicle, and whole writers of England, and Wales, and Scotland, and Ireland, preceding Camden, amounting to perhaps a hundred of all ages, who mention the Píks, uniformly derive them from Scandinavia and the Orkneys.

9. Giraldus Cambrensis expressly calls the Píks *gentem Gothicam*, a Gothic nation. Even Geofrey of Monmouth says expressly, that the Píks came from Scythia to the north of Britain, and so downward. And he ever describes them as quite a different people from the Welch ; for which reason,

beius familia verbum vitæ, per interpretatorem, Sancto prædicante viro audiens credidit, &c. Adomnan. Vita Columbæ, lib. II. c. 12. In the same chapter Adomnan calls the Píks 'gentiles barbari,' *barbarous pagans* ; and always implies them quite a different people from his own Irish, in speech, manners, and every respect.

and as he founded a new school in English history, he is quoted. For, tho a stupid romancer, he could not be ignorant if the Piks were Welch, or not, as they existed in his time, under their old name, as appears from English writers of the War of the Standard.

10. The Piks are uniformly mentioned by all ancient writers who speak of them, tho without telling their origin, as a distinct peculiar people, neither Welch, nor Irish, nor Gaelic; but as different from either, as English from Welch.

11. The monuments of the Piks, the *Piks houses*, &c. can neither be found in Wales nor Ireland; tho in the Orkneys many exist, and some in Scandinavia.

12. Nennius and Samuel avouch the Piks to have held their usual territory in 858. The Irish annals of Tighernac and Ulster mention Kenneth and his successors, down to Donal II. 894, as kings of the Piks. Ailred, Richard of Hexham, and other cotemporary writers, mention that at the war of the Standard, 1138, the Piks claimed the first place in the Scottish army, as their ancient right. Now the west being given to the Irish, the Piks were laterly inhabitants of the north, east, and south, of Scotland, as all know; the people of which, to this day, are quite a distinct race from the highlanders of the west. And the language of these parts was always Gothic, as innumerable names of places remain to shew; and as it is at this day.

More arguments might be adduced; but these are sufficient, as they admit of no answer, save by rejecting all ancient authorities and facts, that is by building romance on the ruins of history. For he who denies ancient authorities, and prefers his own shallow dreams, is a fabulist, and not an historian. It also deserves remark that, of modern authors, those confessedly the most eminent for learning have always asserted the Piks to have
come

come from Scandinavia. Buchanan, Humphrey Llyud, Verstegan, Usher, Stillingfleet, Sibbald, Sheringham, may be named, at a time when Camden alone was on the other side : but in this superficial century, when writers copy each other, and examine nothing to the bottom, the opinion that the Picts were Welch, tho as above shewn absolutely false, ignorant, and childish, has been more prevalent. Yet in this age the truth has also witnesses in D'Anville, and the authors of the Encyclopedie. Nor can the assertors of the new opinion be dismissed without the censure which the learned Sheringham passes on such dreamers of dreams, *temerarii, et vix sani hominis, est, quidvis ex libidine affirmare, vel negare; et sine firma ratione scriptoribus fidem demere*; "it is the part of a rash madman to affirm or deny whatever he pleases, and without any reason to refuse faith to authorities."

CHAPTER III.

Origin of the Piks.

THE antiquities of a nation may be regarded as either *Poetical*, or *Historical*. The former are such as have not that certainty requisite to history, yet cannot be called absolutely false, but have verisimilitude sufficient to recommend them to poetry, which delights in distant events, where it can raise a fairy light in the dark. The voyage of Eneas to Italy, the founding of Carthage by Dido, and the like very remote events in national story, are of this kind; as no sober author will admit them into history, and yet they appear to advantage in poetry. In like manner the origin of the Piks admits of a poetical, and an historical, division. The Poetical is that which traces them from Colchis to Scandinavia: the Historical finds them in Norway, and traces them from Norway to Scotland. The reader is requested to attend to this division, that he may not accuse the author of lending *historical* faith to *poetical* evidence; but judge impartially and give the poetical part only poetical faith. It is fully sufficient that we find the Piks in Norway, and trace them to Scotland. History requires no more. But as this work may serve the future poetry, as well as history of Scotland, and it is pleasing to search a point of antiquity to the very bottom, no further apology shall be made for dwelling a little on the Poetical Origin of the Piks.

§ 1. *Poetical*

§ I. Poetical Origin of the Piki.

If the reader will peruse the Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians, or Goths, to be found at the end of this work, he will see such grounds as so remote an event can afford to believe that the *Peukini*, who by all accounts proceeded from the ile of *Peuké* at the mouth of the Danube, were originally the *Piki* of ancient Colchis. These *Piki* Pliny places between the *Palus Mæotis* and *Ceraunian* mountains. The *Ceraunian* Mountains, as appears from *Ptolemy* and others, were between the river *Tanais*, or *Don*, and the *Caspian* sea, to the north-east of *Caucasus*, which was another chain extending from the *Euxine* to the *Caspian*. The *Piki* were apparently where the map of *Sarmatia* and *Scythia*, by *Cluverius*, places the *Petigori* on the river *Varadanus*, being on the east of present *Circassia*. These *Piki* were remarkable in ancient fable. *Nonnus*^a tells us, that they were the same people who were called *Γρυφαι*, *Griffons*, by the *Greeks*, and against whom the *Arimaspi* fought to get the guarded gold :

As when a gryphon thro the wilderness,
With winged course, o'er hill or moory dale,
Pursues the Arimaspiæ, who by stealth
Had from his wakeful custody purloined
The guarded gold. Milt. Par. Lost, II. 943.

M. D'Hancarville thinks they were called *Griffons*, because they worshiped the sun, whose emblem was a griffon, as appears from many coins of *Abdera*, a city of *Thrace*. However this be, *Plautus* celebrates the golden mountains of the *Piki* :

Picos divitiis, qui aureos montes colunt,
Ego solus supero. Aulularia, prope fin.

Upon the Argonautic expedition, 1263 years before Christ, a party of *Colchians* pursuing the

^a *Dionys.* II. 641.

Argonauts without success, settled at the mouth of the Danube. The kingdom of Colchis was anciently very large and powerful, as appears from all the ancients, who mention it, and included many nations. Of these it is highly probable the Piki were one; and were those Colchian subjects who were sent in pursuit of the Argonauts. Ovid, who lived nine years in exile at Tomi, southward of the Danube's mouth, marks the Colchi as separated from his residence by the Danube:

Solus ad egressus missus septemplex Istri

Parrhasiæ gelido virginis axe premor.

Jazyges, et Colchi, Metereaue turba, Getæque,

Danubii mediis vix prohibentur aquis.

Trist. lib. II. cl. 1.

The Jazyges were a Sarmatian people on the northern banks of the Tyras: Meterea was a town on the Tyras: the Getæ were on the north of the Danube: the Colchi here mentioned were in all appearance of Peuké, a large island in the mouth of the Danube. The original Colchians were on the opposite shore of the Euxine, and had no concern with the Danube. It is true that Apollonius Rhodius, in his admirable Poem, says that the Istrians on the Adriatic sea were those Colchians who pursued the Argonauts; but his account is an absolute impossibility, for he tells that the Colchians sailed all up the Danube, in pursuit of the Argonauts, and drew their ships overland to settle in present Istria. It seems apparent that there was a people at the mouth of the Danube, or Ister, called Istrii, and that these, being expelled by the Colchians, went and settled on the Adriatic; while the Colchians, who held their old seats, were, by a confusion inseparable from tradition, mistaken by some for the old inhabitants. Ovid, who lived on the spot, is a clear evidence of a Colchian colony on the north of the Danube; for the Istrii he could not allude to, as they were a thousand miles

miles distant, and on the south of the Danube, while all the other nations he mentions were near him, and on the north. If the Piki were the real ancestors of the Peukini, and settled in Peuké 1263 years before Christ, they might easily in the course of less than seven hundred years populate the space between Peuké and the Baltic; and passing the Baltic possess the south of Scandinavia more than 500 years before Christ; a period about which it would appear, as mentioned in the above quoted Dissertation, that their Scythic brethren had peopled all Germany to the British sea. If this *poetical* hypothesis be followed, the whole Basternæ (Peukini, Sitones, and Atmoni) must be supposed to originate from Peuké; as indeed Peukini and Basternæ are synonymous names with Pliny and Tacitus.

But the *poet* who chuses to commence the Pikiish origin only at the ile of Peuké, will approach nearer to history, tho he will not be the best skilled in his own art. The Peukini can indeed be traced with geographic certainty from Peuké into Scandinavia, as expressly shewn in the Dissertation annexed. The reader will there see that part of the Peukini still remained in Peuké and Thrace, in the time of Strabo; that from thence they can be traced, from Tacitus and Ptolemy, up to the shore of the Baltic in present Prussia. That the Sitones, another Basternic nation, or (if we follow Pliny and Tacitus, and allow the Peukini and Basternæ synonymous terms) a nation of the Peukini, were in Scandinavia in the time of Tacitus. And that if, in opposition to Pliny and Tacitus, we hold the Peukini to be only a nation of the Basternæ, they lay nearer to the Baltic than the Sitones, and proceeded, as appears from Ptolemy, in a direct line; while the Sitones moved round by the west side of the Vistula: so that the Peukini, as they can be traced to the shore of the Baltic, while a part of the Sitones held the opposite coast

of Scandinavia, had in every probability sent a colony into Scandinavia, before the Sitones, which proceeding north-west was lost to the eyes of the ancients, by whom no part of Scandinavia was known, save the southern shores. It is also shewn from Strabo, that the Basternæ held Scandinavia; and that, if we refuse Basternæ and Peukini to be synonymous, it were yet unreasonable to suppose that the Peukini, the greatest nation of the Basternæ, and who can actually be traced to the very opposite shore, had no part in these settlements. But having dwelt so fully on this subject in that Dissertation, and produced the proofs in order, it is unnecessary here to recapitulate more, seeing that it is sufficient for the present purpose to trace the Piks in that part of Scandinavia now called Norway; and thence to Scotland.

§ II. *Historical Origin of the Piks.*

Tacitus, the first writer who mentions the people of Caledonia, or Piks, expresses his opinion that they were of German origin. Beda tells us they came from Scythia, a name which Jornandes about 530 had given to Scandinavia; and which continued to be applied to that country till the eleventh century, when the special denominations of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, became known to Europe. All the other ancient writers who mention the origin of the Piks derive them from Scandinavia, so that no doubt can remain, save with such shallow dreamers as speak of opinions when they should speak of facts, and prefer their own weak conceits to that positive evidence upon which alone all ancient history stands. Indeed, to judge from reason only, it might readily be inferred that the Piks, a people, as all the ancients shew, quite different from the old Scots, or Irish, and from the old Britons, or Welch, as possessing North Britain, could only originate from a country near to
North

North Britain, as Norway is. And when reason and ancient authorities thus coalesce, they constitute that highest degree of Historical Truth which even approaches to Mathematical Demonstration. In Scandinavia therefore, that large peninsular tract, including Norway, Sweden, and a part of Denmark, we are to look for the Piks: and while we find a people of the same name, in the south of Norway, the part next to Scotland, the evidence becomes as complete as human history can afford.

Scandinavia was by the Romans, who only knew a small part of it's southern coasts, esteemed not improperly a German iland. It is indeed more properly a vast iland, than a peninsula; as it's extent is so great, and the part that connects it with the continent so narrow. For all the South, West, and North, quarters are surrounded with sea; and on the East the lakes Ladoga and Onega are connected by large rivers, or rather outlets: and between the lake Onega and the White Sea, being the only part where there is a passage into Scandinavia by land, there is another lake and river rendering that single passage not above two miles broad. The circumference of Scandinavia is about Two Thousand Two Hundred miles; and of that whole circumference only two miles being land, it seems rather an impropriety to call it a peninsula, than objectionable to term it an iland. Tacitus ranks the Sitones a people of Scandinavia among the Germans; and the other ancients account it an iland of Germany, and it's inhabitants Germans.

This vast iland seems to have been first peopled by Fins and Laplanders, whom Ihre thinks the first inhabitants of the whole. But there is great reason to suppose, that these people, being from the east, had not extended further west than their present bounds, when they were stopt by the Scythians, or Goths, from the south. For there are
no

no Finnish or Laplandic names in Sweden, or in Norway, tho, had such been given to rivers, or mountains, they must have in some cases remained. The Finnish and Laplandic names are very peculiar, and distinct from the Gothic: almost all end in *vi* or *o*; and they are generally soft as the Italian. Nor in the Eddas, or ancient Sagas, is there a hint of any conflicts with the Fins, or Laplanders, tho they inform that Odin conquered the Cimbri.

Mela, who wrote in the reign of Claudius about 45 years after Christ, says, book III. ch. 3. that the Cimbri and Teutones held the islands in the *Sinus Codanus*, or Gulf between Jutland and Scandinavia. And ch. 6. he says there were seven islands in that gulf, and that the Teutones still had Codanovia, the largest and best of these islands. These seven islands seem Funen, Alsen, Longland, Laland, Falster, Mone, Femeren. Funen, called Tutofunen in the map of Cluverius, is by far the largest and best of these, and is perhaps that meant by Mela. As to Zeeland, an island equal in size to all these put together, it was called Scandia by Ptolemy and other ancients; and lyes beyond these seven islands, so that it seems to have been unknown to Mela, and by no means to have been his Codanovia, as some think. Tacitus, by some accident in his information, seems to have known little of Jutland; for he says nothing of the Cimbric Chersonese, nor *Sinus Codanus*, nor Teutoni; and only mentions in general the nations that possessed the large Cimbric Chersonese, tho without marking it by that name.

Upon the whole, the Cimbri anciently possessed Jutland; and the Teutones the islands between it and Scandinavia. But that the Cimbri, or Teutones, ever were in Scandinavia itself, there is not a shadow of proof. Pliny, the first writer who mentions Scandinavia, says it was possessed by the Hilleviones. The Basternæ, those Germans, or Goths,

Goths, who peopled Scandinavia, entering on the south-east, proceeded north and west; and seem, some centuries after they possessed Scandinavia, to have made expeditions against the Cimbri and Teutones, who were on the southern shores opposite to them. These nations, being unable to withstand their invaders, were forced to relinquish their territories to them. Being also surrounded with other Germans, or Goths, on the south, they seem to have obtained leave to pass thro the territories of the later, in quest of new inhabitants, which, as Cæsar^b shews, was not an unusual practice among the nations of Gaul and Germany. This the southern Goths would readily grant, as every motive of policy and interest must have induced them. The Cimbri and Teutones first came to the territories of the Belgæ, who, as Cæsar tells^c, repulsed them. But turning to the east of the Belgæ, where lay the forest of Arduenna, and tracts of desert land, the Cimbri and Teutones burst upon Celtic Gaul. For Cæsar expressly says, the Cimbri and Teutones seized on ALL Gaul^d, that is, all Gaul Proper, or Celtic Gaul, as he informs us that the Belgæ repelled them: and that from thence they burst into Provincial Gaul and Italy. This passage of Cæsar is of great importance, and yet has never been explained, and hardly even attended to. The Cimbri and Teutones, had they seized all Celtic Gaul, could not, one would imagine, want new habitations; yet these were all they required from the Romans, as we know from history^e. It is impossible to account for the ideas of these barbarians. Had they wanted waste grounds to cultivate, they might have found them in the forest of Arduenna. Had they wanted to possess cultivated lands, they

^b See the example of the Helvetii. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. I. and others. ^c Lib. II.

^d *Bell. Gall.* lib. I. quum OMNEM Galliam occupassent, ut ante Cimbri, Teutonique fecissent: and lib. II. OMNI Gallia vexata, Teutones, &c. and again, lib. VII.

^e Plutarch in Mario, &c.

had them in Celtic Gaul, and the province. Yet they abandon all to march into Italy. Plutarch also informs, that they invaded Spain before turning upon Italy. So far as can be judged, the Cimbri and Teutones, finding the sweets of a roving and plundering life, preferred it to any settlement; and, being unused to agriculture in their first seats, considered cultivated lands only with a view of pillage. Their demand of lands from the Romans seems to have been a mere pretence: rapine and plunder their sole pursuits. Like the Huns afterward, they settled nowhere, but followed war as a trade. Many of the German nations were agricultural, as Tacitus shews; and Cæsar tells that the Belgæ of Britain were distinguished from the indigenes, or Celts, by agriculture. The Celts being indeed mere savages, and worse than the savages of America, are remarkable even to our own times for a total neglect of agriculture themselves, and for plundering their neighbours. The Irish Celts, Scottish Celts, and Welch Celts, have all a like claim to this character; and when it begins to pass away, it is only a sign that by intermarriages the Gothic blood begins to exceed the Celtic: and that the Celts are no longer Celts, tho' so accounted. Plutarch says the Germans called banditti, *Cimbri*. For the Gothic agricultors naturally gave this epithet to their Celtic neighbours who preyed upon their labours: as the highlanders, and Irish Celts, are called *Caterens*, *Kerns*, or *thieves*.

That the shock which drove the Cimbri and Teutones out of the north of Germany must have come from the north of their possessions is clear; for, had it proceeded from the south, they must have been driven into Scandinavia. In other words, the Scandinavians must have expelled the Cimbri and Teutones; and it is reasonable to infer of course that they seized their seats. Hence it appears to me, that Jutland, and the Danish
iles,

iles, were peopled with Goths from Scandinavia, and not from Germany. This opinion seems confirmed by that surest mark, the speech of these parts; which is not the German dialect of the Gothic, but the Scandinavian dialect of that tongue; and this distinction between Germany and the Danish dominion has always been marked and precise. The nations which Tacitus finds in present Jutland, namely the Angli, Varini, Eudoses, Suardones, and Nuithones, and the Suiones of Zeeland, will of course be originally Scandinavians. Ptolemy names the nations in present Jutland, Sigulones, Sabelengii, Cobandi, Chali, Phundufii, Charudes; but his authority, compared to that of Tacitus, who lived near the spot, is as night to day; and not one name of his nations is to be found, save in his book, while the real names, as given by Tacitus, occur in many authors. But of this more fully in the Dissertation annexed.

The labial letters, and among others the P and V, are very apt to be interchanged in oral language. Hence the same people were called *Piktar*, or Piks, more anciently and properly; and laterly *Vihtværiar*, and by contraction, *Vihtar*, or Viks. The first name was the most ancient, tho even in Ammianus we find *Vecturiones* for Piks. Common names are indeed liable to perpetual corruption and abuse. In Norway the real ancient name seems to have been *Piktar*, as we find it in the Saxon Chronicle; but afterward *Vihtar*, as in the Sagas, all of which are later than that Chronicle. Having premised these remarks let us proceed to illustrate the ancient seats of the Piks in Norway.

Torfæus, the greatest antiquary whom this century has produced, and deserving of the highest praise, not only from his country, but from all Europe, has in the description of Norway, which commences his large and valuable history of that country, given us many lights on *Vika* or *Vichia*, the ancient kingdom of the Piks, tho he has not dropt

So much for
the Lambic
Tustones, who
might be
supposed to have
possessed the
South of Scan-
-dinavia, who
the Piks moved
to north Britain
But Scandinavia
was really peopled
from the South
by the Piktians
and it is supposed
that their name
may yet be trace
as mentioned in
the Saxon Chronicle
and Sagas.

In corrected

dropt one hint that it produced the Piks so noted in Roman history. His researches, confined to Northern antiquities, have not suggested to him the least idea of this; and i am forced to take upon myself the whole weight of this discovery. Torfæus informs that the whole of that country in the south of Norway, which surrounds the bay of Opslo, or Osloa, or Christiana, was anciently called VIKÅ, and it's ilands the VIKR illes. It comprehended the provinces of *Raumarik*, *Ringarik*, *Hadaland*, *Thotnia*, *Heidmarch*, and *Gudbrandzdal*. This country is in modern maps called *The Government of Agerbus*, being about two hundred miles long, and one hundred broad. It is remarkable that it lyes on the east, and not on the west of Norway, where one would naturally imagine that the government of Bergen, being the whole south-west part of Norway, and stretching along the western ocean, would have been the natural parent of those Piks, who crossed that small tract of that ocean which lyes between Norway and Scotland. But these affairs do not happen in such formal order, else the Dutch, and not the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, would have seized England. It may however well be inferred, that, in times preceding any Sagas, or other memorials of Norwegian history, the whole Norwegians were called Pihtar, as being Peukini, tho afterward this name only remained to a great part; as Es-Sex, and Middle Sex, or East Saxony, and Middle Saxony, remain names of counties in England, tho not exceeding a quarter of the ancient dominions of the Saxons in that country. Be this as it may, it is sufficient that ancient Vika stretched along that sea, which is to the south of Norway, to the extent of about one hundred and fifty miles; for *Vik-Siden*, or the Vik Side spred, even in the time of Torfæus, down to Bahus on the east. Here were 150 miles of sea-coast open to the people of Vika, directly opposite to the north of Scotland, and only about 240 miles from it.

There are no Northern Sagas or Histories extant which can be called older than the eleventh century. Arius Frodi, the first Historian, is of the twelfth century: Snorro Sturleson of the thirteenth. Much obscurity therefore hangs around the history of Norway till about the year 900, when Harald Harfagre, one of the petty kings of that country, conquering ten or twelve others, arose monarch of all Norway. Among the conquered kingdoms Vika is expressly mentioned by Torfæus, II. 18. But the inland parts of this large country had been split into three or four kingdoms, Rauma-rik, Ringa-rik, Heidmark, &c. all of which occur often in Torfæus by these names, and under distinct kings; while the kingdom of Vika was confined to that part which lay along the sea, as appears from many passages of Torfæus, and especially frequent mention of invaders landing and ravaging the territories of Vika. And Olaus Magnus means this part, when he says, *Vichia olim regnum*: 'Vichia anciently a kingdom^f.'

Such hints as can be found concerning Vika or Vichia in the Northern writers shall here be thrown together. Torfæus describes *Vik-Siden*, a great part of the coast of ancient Vika yet retaining that name, as a beautiful country ornamented with large plains, thick woods of fir, and moderate hills, that, swelling down to the shore, are intersected with large and small creeks. The ancient inhabitants were of remarkable ferocity, and scrupled not to invade and ravage their neighbours. The river *Gautelf* runs thro this part of Vika; and forms a great cataract, under which, between the water and the rocks, banditti used to lurk. In this part of Vika is also *Konga-billa*, or Kings-hill, central to the dominions of Denmark,

^f Historia (should be *descriptio*) Gent. Septen. ad fin. ubi Elenchus Regn. Sept.

Norway, and Sweden : and where the three kings used to meet when a conference was appointed. This country is fertile, and remarkable for ale of peculiar strength. The shore was anciently noted for it's herring fishery, but the shoals have now abandoned it. The south-east part was also called *Alfheim*, from Alf the king. *Fredericshall*, where Charles XII. was shot, stands in the midst of this country. *Dall Vik* was another division of Vika, comprizing three provinces *Rauma-rik*, *Heidmarch*, and *Gudbrandzdal*.

In the Edda we find *Vitr-Gut* the grandson, and *Pitta*, the great grandson of Odin. Some of these names seem national, as we find *Geta*. &c. in other genealogies from Odin; and it may well be suspected, that *Vitr-Gut* and *Pitta* have both reference to the *Vikr Goths* or *Pibtar*. Torfæus observes, in his *Series Regum Daniæ*, that this *Pitta* is called *Vitta* by the Saxon writers of England : and he generally occurs in the genealogies of their kings from Odin, along with *Geta*, &c. In the *Nori Regnum* of Ramus, being an history of Norway prior to Harald Harfagre, or 900, we find the following story concerning a king of Vika, which Ramus dates in the year of the world 3960, or about 40 years before Christ. But, according to the error of last century, the Northern authors placed events many ages too ancient; and Torfæus and Ramus have shewn so little judgment in this point, as to suppose the events preceding our æra known, and those for many centuries after unknown : of which Ramus, in this very book, affords a remarkable instance, for he narrates numerous matters prior to our æra, yet gravely tells us, that for the first 338 years after it nothing is known ! Torfæus had in like manner dated the reign of Hrolf Krak king of Denmark before our æra : till upon further examination of his story, finding adventures with a king of Northumberland, and the like, he was forced to date it

it 500 years after. But, in fact, there is no memory of Northern affairs preceding the year 500⁸; and this tale may be dated about the eighth century. Here it is. 'At that time died Asvid, son of Alf king of Heidmarch. Asmund king of Vikia, the son of Bero, wishing not to survive the death of his *sworn brother*, took with him some meat and drink, and went down into the sepulchre of Asvid, which was in a deep cavern. Eric coming to the place with many Swedes, his soldiers expecting to find a treasure in the tomb of Asvid, opened a passage to the cavern at its top, and let down one of their number in a basket. Asmund, repenting of his resolution, seized the occasion, threw out the soldier, and mounting the basket himself, was drawn up by the Swedes. They being terrified out of measure at this unexpected apparition, fled with great precipitation, Asmund in vain trying to recall them. For he was so torn in the face, by fighting every night with the ghost of Asvid, that he resembled a mangled corse^h.'

Ramus also mentions Alf king of Alfheim, or Vikia, whose daughter Alfhilda Starcater, the Fingal of the North, carried off and married. Torfæus, in his history of Norway, is quite full

⁸ See Dissertation annexed.

^h The book of Ramus being very scarce, the original is subjoined. "Illis diebus fato concesserat Asvidus; cujus sepulchrum, ob amicitie fœdus, adscito potu et cibo, intraverat Asmundus Beronis Vikie rex, jurati fratris neci superesse nolens. Inciderat jam forte Ericus, cum magna Suecorum manu, in Asvidi tumulum: cum Sueci, thesaurum se inventuros rati, perfracto colle, militem sporta in antrum dimittunt. Ea captata occasione, militem de sede disjecit Asmundus, ejusque loco corbem ipse conscendens a Suecis contractus est. Illi forma ejus inusitata territi, in pedes se contrahunt; Asmundo timidos frustra revocante. Adeo enim erat facie laceratus, certamine scilicet cum Asvidi manibus nocte quavis habito, ut defuncti plane speciem referret." p. 33. *Sworn brothers* is a well known term of chivalry, derived from the early customs of the Goths.

of Vika, as a country of Norway, and as bordering on the south sea, the most exposed to invasions. But of it's kings i believe few other names are known than the two above mentioned. The whole history of Norway prior to 900, when Harold Harfagre, or fair-hair, became so e king, is unknown, or bordering on romance. Vika being laterly but one of ten or twelve kingdoms in Norway, it's history has perished, as that of the others; both by reason of the confusion inseparable from the mingled events of such small states, and because that no writers arose till the twelfth century, long after the extinction of these states. Eric Blodox, son and successor of Harald Harfagre 933, had at first but half of Norway; Olaf, one of his brothers, usurping Vika, and Sigrod, the other, Thrandia: but Eric entering Vika, engaged both his brothers, and slew them. In 938 Torfæus tells, that Haco king of Norway restored Thorstein lord of Vika to his hereditary possession; and in 942 Haco cleared Vika of Danes and pirates. About the year 1000, in the time of Harold Blaatand, we find strong disputes in Vika, whether the pagan or christian religion should prevail. King Olaf Tryggvin, about 1025, converted all Vicha to christianity. After this Vika is often mentioned, till the close of the Norwegian history, in the fourteenth century, when it coalesced with that of Denmark. The Vikar were a rebellious people; and in particular the grand faction of the *Baglar*, so prominent in the later history of Norway, consisted chiefly of Vikarⁱ.

In the Icelandic, or old Norwegian tongue, *wik* is a *bay* or *haven*, as some say; but, according to the Icelandic lexicon of Andreas, *Vik* is a *promontory*, or *corner*. Many towns in the Northern kingdoms end in *wic* or *vic*, as *Sandwic* in

ⁱ Torfæi Hist. Norv. *passim*.

Norway, &c. But this word cannot well, in either acceptation, be supposed to be the very name of VIKA, a territory 200 miles long and 100 broad; for how absurd an appellation would *the Bay*, *the Haven*, *the Corner*, *the Promontory*, be for such a country! Beside, the whole Northern writers call this country as often *Vichia* as *Vika*, and have never dropt a single hint that this name was from *vik*. There is one kingdom in Europe which takes it's name from a haven, Portugal from *Portus Calle*; but this name is from a special haven; and to have called it *The Haven* in general would have been so absurd as never to have struck the weakest mind; for it would have been a name that was no name, but might apply to a thousand other places. It therefore appears that VIK or VIC H, the name of this kingdom, has no more connexion with *vik* 'a haven,' &c. than any word has to do with another identically so spelled, but of a quite different import. We know what laughter Somner occasioned when he derived *Cumberland* from people being *cumbered* in going over it's hills. Flintshire, it is presumed, did not take that name from it's abounding in *flint*; nor Cheshire from it's *cheese*. But so obvious a point need not be insisted on; and it appears to me that the name of *Vik*, and it's people *Vikar*, are mere oral alterations of *Pik* and *Pikar*, the most ancient names; and these in all probability a small variation from the name *Peukini*, as *Suitiod* or Sweden is certainly from the *Sitones*.

From *Vik*, a haven, the word *Vikingur*, a pirate, seems to be formed, tho Andreas derives it from *Vig*, a ship. Some antiquaries have lately supposed that that the name *Piks* is but a slight variation of *Vikingur*, or pirates; but this opinion is liable to many objections. 1. The very name *Vikingur* is too remote from the name *Pibtar*, or *Pehts*, or *Piks*, to be the same; for tho all grant P and V are labial letters easily commutable, yet

the *ingur* of the termination is essential, and incapable of omission or change. 2. The Saxon Chronicle, and king Alfred, in his translation of Beda, call the Piks *Pikt̃ar*, *Pyht̃ar*, *Peht̃ar*, *Peobtar*; and the word *Vikingur* is not to be found in writers more ancient than these, nor are the Runic monuments in which it is found more ancient, so that had *Vikingur* been the real indigenal name, it could not have escaped writers cotemporary with the Pikish monarchy, and of a nation bordering on the Piks. 3. The old English historians sometimes call the Danish pirates who invaded England *Viccingi*, which is clearly the northern word *Vikingur*, but the Piks they always call *Pic̃li*. 4. The words *Pikt̃ar*, *Pyht̃ar*, *Peht̃ar*, *Vikar*, *Vicbar*, are absolute national names; while *Vikingur*, or pirate, is a mere professional denomination, and could only apply to those actually engaged in it.

Before leaving this part of the subject, it must be observed, that the names VIK and VIKAR can be traced in Scandinavia so as to shew that it must have been once much spread. In Sweden is *Vikia*, a tract of Ostrogothia, four miles long and one and a half broad. Nay on the south-east shore of the Baltic, in Esthonia, is another *Vikia*, a district twelve miles long and ten broad. Tho these small parts compared to the Vika of Norway, be as drops to the ocean, yet being in the identic progress by which, as is shewn in the Dissertation annexed, the Peukini proceeded into Scandinavia, it might not be wholly unreasonable to infer that they derive their names from some of the Peukini settled there^k. So the Saxons who

^k Rudbeck, Atlant. I. 673, mentions, as on the north of Sweden, the '*Packtar*, *Paiktar*, *Pitur*, *Medel Paktar*; Britanni *Peibtar* appellant:' and says in another place, Vol. II. '*Nostri infimam plabam Paik, et pueros servulosque Poikar appellant.*' It seems hence that the ancient name remained in remote corners, and among the vulgar, who retain old usages longest.

gave their name to Saxony in Germany, have also imparted it to Es-sex, and Middle-sex, and Suffex, in England.

That the nations who over-ran Europe upon the fall of the Roman empire proceeded from Scandinavia, is shewn, in the Dissertation added, to be a puerile vulgar error, built solely on a gross misrepresentation of the meaning of Jornandes, a silly writer of a barbarous age; who says the old Scythians proceeded from Scandinavia, and that it is of course the real ancient Scythia: but who in this wild assertion is flatly contradicted by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancients, who expressly mark the progress of the Scythians to have been from present Persia, so that their course lay north-west, instead of south-east; and Scandinavia, instead of the first, was almost the last country they held. Scandinavia is one of the most mountainous regions in the world, and such countries are always thinly inhabited, as it always has been, and is at present. The sole colonies it ever sent forth were, 1. The Piks into Scotland, the opposite shore. 2. The Jutes and Danes. And laterly, after the Eighth century, 3. The Normans into France. 4. The Waregori into Russia. 5. Into Iceland and Greenland. 6. Into Ireland, the Hebudes, and Orkneys*.

* All these colonies are well known, except the Waregori. Muller, who published German translations of the old Russian chronicles, first brought them to light, about 40 years ago. Nestor, the Russian annalist, who wrote about the year 1000, mentions that they consisted of *Urmans*, or Normans, *Inglani*, or Angles, and *Gothi*, or Yents. In 862 they had settled on the White Sea, and were thence invited into Russia. *Ruric*, or Roderic their leader, fixed his throne at Novogorod in 864. Same year Oskold and Dir delivered Kiow from the Cosars, and reigned there. From Kiow they sailed down the Borystenes, and invaded Constantinople. But Ruric was the founder of the Russian Empire: and his house held the sceptre of Russia till 1598, or for seven centuries. *Muller, Samlung Russ. Gesch. Parerga Hist. Dantisci 1782, 4to.*

Now it is remarkable, that in the three first of these colonies the name of the *Vikar*, the chief people of ancient Norway, occurs. The *Piks* bear it expressly, with the mere change of a labial letter, which change was in the word *Vikar*, not in *Pikar*; for the Northern nations fond of close and hard sounds, as the cold climate renders their fibres rigid, and makes them speak much thro the teeth, or with as close lips as possible, naturally preferred the close *V* to the open *P*, and thus changed the ancient *Pikar* to *Vikar*. The Jutes are by the Northern nations called *Yeuts*; and Jutland, *Yeutland*, the *Y* having here the same sound as in the Italian. But this country was anciently called *Vitland*, or *Pitland*; and it's inhabitants *Vits*, or *Pits*. Verelius, a learned Northern antiquary, tells that Jutland is the mere modern name of *Vitland*; and Beda expressly calls the Jutes always *Vitæ*, or *Vits*. Nor was this appellation of *Vits* or *Pits* confined to Jutland, but extended even to the Danish isles; for Meursius informs us; that in ancient times Zealand, the grand seat of the Danish monarchy, Langland and Mona were called *Vitsflett*; which the learned Stephanius, in his notes on Saxo, p. 28. col. 2. confirms, adding, that the same name also extended to Falster and Laland, two other of these isles, and that it preceded that of Denmark, and that the name *Vitsflett* means *The field of the Vits*. Perhaps it rose from the circumstance of Scandinavia being hilly, and these isles plain and fertile. In the third colony of the Normans in France, tho later than the two former by a thousand years, and caused not by an overflow of people, but merely by numbers of the Norwegians leaving their country, where Harald Harfagre exercised the tyranny of an universal conqueror, we still find this eminent name. For the province of *Picardie*, the derivation of whose name has baffled all the French antiquaries, was the earliest settlement of the Norwegians

wegians in France, who thence advanced to besiege Paris; and after acquired Normandie. But Picardie, being actually seized and possessed by them for some time before they gained Normandie, it was not included in the grant of Normandie, because already their's by full conquest and possession. Picardie is a province 48 leagues long, and 38 broad. It's rivers are la Somme, l'Oyse, la Cauche, la Scarpe, la Lys, and l'Aa. The name of Picardie is unknown till the thirteenth century, when Guillaume de Naugis first uses it, as Matthew of Paris, under the year 1229, speaks of the Picards who border on Flanders. It was about 900 that Ganga Hrolf, or Rollo the Walker, (so called, because no horse could support his weighty stature) a Norwegian Earl, who, as not dishonourable in that age, practised piracy, landed, and ravaged a part of Vika¹. Harald Harfagre, the new monarch of all Norway, banished Rollo who first passed to the Western isles of Scotland; then invaded England, but without any success; and at last went to Neustria, or present Normandy, in France. After ravaging a great part of the north of France, and besieging Paris, at length in 912 a treaty was made, by which all Normandy was yielded to Rollo and his followers. Rollo lived to a great age, and left that province secure to his successors; one of whom was after to ascend the throne of England. It was in 1205, that Normandy was reunited to France, by Philip Augustus: and it is remarkable that the name of Picardie begins first to appear at this time. This seems owing to the writers of Norman history being Frenchmen, and other foreigners, who used a general name for the whole people; but when the French had gotten possession, and complete knowledge of the country, they found that the inhabitants of the eastern part called themselves Picars, and used that denomination for them in course.

¹ See a Dissertation on Rollo in Torf. Hist. Norv. tom. II.

Having thus displayed the seats of the Piks in Scandinavia, it remains to trace them from thence to Scotland, which can be done with the utmost certainty that ancient history can bear.

Tacitus is the first writer who mentions the Caledonians, or Piks, in North Britain, and he gives his opinion that they came from Germany : and he includes the people of Scandinavia, the Suiones, and Sitones in Germany, so that Scandinavia was a part of his Germany. His words are, in describing Britain, *Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter Barbaros parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii, atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant. Silurum colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines, et positu contra Hispaniam Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt : seu durante originis vi, seu, præcurrentibus in diversa terris, positio cæli corporibus habitum dedit. In universum tamen æstimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est^m.* Moreover what mortals first inhabited Britain, indigenal or adventitious, is, as usual with barbarians, little known. The habits of their bodies are various, whence arguments may rise. For the red hair and large limbs of those inhabiting Caledonia assure us of their German origin. The tawny faces, and generally curled hair of the Silures, and their position opposite to Spain, make us believe that they are old Iberi who passed over, and occupied these seats. Those next to the Gauls resemble the Gauls : whether because the strong feature of their origin continues, or that, their lands running out in diverse directions, the position of the climate gave a different habit to their bodies. Yet to one judging upon the whole it is credible that the Gauls occupied the part next them." This passage is

^m Tacit. in Agricola,

corum sacra
reprehendas
superstitionum
persuasione
sermo haud multum
diversus

see corrections

entitled to a commentary. The red hair and large limbs are to this day the grand features of the Scandinavians, while the Scottish, Irish, and Welch Celts are remarkable for black hair, and a size rather diminutive. The Germans were equally remarkable for their red, yellow, and flaxen hair, which are all but different shades of the same complexion. If my memory serves, some of the Roman writers mention the yellow hair of the Gauls, meaning those Gauls who bordered on Italy, those of Gallia Bracata, Helvetia, &c. up to Belgium, all of whom were real Germans, who had expelled the old Gauls to the west, or Celtic Gaul; and were called Gauls, as an Englishman is called a Briton. The marks here given by Tacitus, however slight they may seem now, are in fact extremely strong among savages, as the Britons then were. The olive complexion and lank hair of an East Indian; the copper colour of an American; the sable face and wooly head of an African, are infallible badges now: and so were the distinctions of the Britons in the time of Tacitus. The word *ASSEVERANT*, 'assure,' used by Tacitus with regard to the Caledonians being of German extract, is firm and invincible; for he had lived long among the Germans of Belgium, and if he did not attend Agricola to this country, he had an almost equal advantage of intimate and continual conversation with him. As to another division of the Britons, namely the Silures, Tacitus is not so clear. He says they might be of Spain, the circumstances *fidem faciunt*, "make us believe," "make it credible." Tacitus proceeds to mention that the Britons next Gaul resembled the Gauls. That is, the Belgæ of the south and east resembled the Belgic Gauls. And it also striking him at the same time, that the Celtic Gauls opposite to the inhabitants of the south-west of Britain resembled them, as in fact the Celts do at this day, in sun-burnt faces, and curled hair, he adds, that upon
the

the whole it is credible that the Gauls occupied *vicinum solum*, the land next them. That is, it was credible that the Silures might also be of Gallic origin, as they lay near Gaul. A critic or two, who have kindly explained Tacitus to others, without understanding him themselves, have imagined that by the words *in universum*, "upon the whole," that great writer meant flatly to contradict himself in the course of two sentences; and to infer that all Britain was peopled from Gaul. *In universum* is a mere phrase of transition; and has perhaps been put by Tacitus with the same negligence, as he would have put *Sed*, or *Et*. He uses the very identic phrase when speaking of the German armies, *In universum aestimanti plus penes peditem robur*, "Upon the whole, the infantry have more force." But as this implies not that all the German armies were of infantry, so neither does the former imply that all the Britons were of Gaul. He expressly adds *vicinum solum* 'the neighbouring land,' which can never apply to Caledonia, a country 500 miles from Gaul; and the German origin of whose people he says is *SURE, asseverant*.

The weapons of war used by the Caledonians and Germans were also the same. Tacitus shews that both used long swords. In *Annal. II.* he gives long spears to the Germans, a weapon remarkable in Scotland to the latest times. Herodian, book *III.* says, the Caledonians had short and narrow shields; and so Tacitus of the Germans, *Annal. III.*

The next writers who mention the Caledonians, are Dio and Herodian, who say nothing of their origin; but mention their custom of painting themselves, a custom, as above shewn, unknown to the Celts, and an infallible badge of a Gothic nation: as were the Belgæ of South Britain, who also retained it.

Eumenius and others, who mention the Picts, drop no hint of their origin. Claudian, who wrote about 390, alludes to it:

Madue-

Maduerunt Saxone fuso

Orcades. Incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule.

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

The whole of this passage alludes to the victory obtained over the Saxons, Piks, and Scots, the ravagers of Britain, by the general Theodosius. Claudian uses all the privilege of poetry, and swells even to bombast, a not unusual fault of his. The Orcades, his deceitful and poetic memory

(For, where the scorching beams of fancy play,

The memory's soft figures melt away)

has confounded with the Σαξονων νησοι, or Iles of the Saxons of Ptolemy, his countryman; which were above the mouth of the Elbe, and are now *de Strand*, and other iles, almost swallowed up at the south-west extremity of Jutland, the real old seat of the Saxons, as Ptolemy marks them. These iles were opposite to the Orkneys, according to Ptolemy; and Claudian has from ignorance, or want of memory, confounded them. His verses evidently mean in bombastic praise to assert, that Theodosius, not content with repelling the Saxons, Piks, and Scots, chastised them all in their original seats, the Iles of the Saxons here absurdly called Orcades; Thule, or Scandinavia; and Ierne, *Ιερνη* as the Greek writers call it, or Ireland. That Scandinavia was the Thule of the later Roman writers is clear from Procopius. If with Claudian we assert Saxons in the Orkneys, we must prefer the language of fiction, to the sober prose truth of all the ancients. Some, to save his error, say this must have been a naval battle: but that this was impossible will appear from the narrative of the expedition of Theodosius given us by Ammianus. But, not to found on poetry, let us leave this passage, *valeat quantum valere potest*, and attend to plain prose.

Beda wrote in 731, and was an author of prodigious learning and judgment for the time, as his numerous

numerous works declare. His Ecclesiastic History of the English nation, in five books, is the best of these works. Would that it had been the Civil history; and that with fifty pages of facts, we had not three hundred of miracles! Yet have we reason to rejoice that the Christian religion was then profest in Britain; as, without it, even these precious fifty pages of facts might never have appeared. Tacitus has his miracles as well as Beda, and without his apology. Nor is the *memorant qui interfucere*, respecting the miracles of Vespasian, much less risible, than the *vidimus* of Irish books curing poison, in Beda; who in that passage perhaps silently quotes, a practice not unusual in the middle ages, for this single word *vidimus* is the most prominent of all Beda's book, who tells other miracles by hearsay. Livy is also full of miracles, tho his judgment in other points has never been questioned. Beda's account of the origin of the Britons, Scots, and Angli, is unquestionably just, which makes us secure when he treats the Pikiish origin. The Britons, he says, came *de tractu Armoricano*. By the Britons, Beda always means the Welch; but the signification of his Armorica is not clear. The more common meaning of Armorica is Bretagne, and that the Welch did not come from that tract is certain. But the term Armorica was very lax; and seems to have extended in it's real meaning of *on the sea*, or *sea-shore*, along the whole coast of Gaul, even up to the Rhine. And that the Cimbri, or German Celts, passed into South Britain from Belgic Gaul, as the Belgæ did long after, is most probable. Beda says, book I, c. 21. that Germanus, bishop of Altisiodorum, or Auxerre in Burgundy, went to Ravenna, *pro pace Armoricanæ gentis supplicaturus*, 'to supplicate for the peace of Armorica.' Auxerre is quite remote from Bretagne, but is on the borders of Belgic Gaul. Beda's Armorica seems to be French Flanders. After all, Beda is here speaking of the first population

population of this island, which was certainly by Gael, from Celtic Gaul, in which Armorica in it's usual acceptation of Bretagne lyes. Beda, not knowing that the Cimbri had driven those Gael into Ireland, might, from the great remoteness of that event, confound the two colonies; and, thinking the Cimbri the first inhabitants, and learning that the first inhabitants came from Celtic Gaul, might of course derive the Cimbri from Celtic Gaul. This origin of the Britons is the only one given by Beda, which seems to need defence: and the reason is clear. The Gael had possibly peopled this country two thousand years before Christ, and the Cimbri one thousand. No wonder then that, in so remote events, Beda might be embarrassed. But the Piks had not come in till about 200 years before Christ; the Scots till 258 years after; nor the Jutes till 449 years after. The Piks had expelled the Cimbri; and even their arrival was a recent event, compared with that of the Welch Britons. Hence, tho Beda might err with regard to the origin of these Britons, this would never invalidate his other origins. Indeed the origins of nations are the greatest events in history, and leave the strongest traces behind them. Beda's origin of the Angli has never been questioned. That of the Scots has, by the poor antiquists of Scotland, who are the shallowest that ever disgraced a country, and instead of **READING** facts, persist in **WRITING** opinions. The grand points of history supported by all authorities, which are **FACTS** in all other countries, are in Scotland **OPINIONS**; and by a species of ignorance, which we term philosophy, we doubt of all truth, but greedily embrace any fiction. This philosophy, we may depend on it, is but another name for superficiality, for which the writers of Scotland are so noted all over Europe; and that philosophy which depends not on facts is worse than ignorance. But of this more fully when we come to treat of the origin of the Scots.

Beda's account of the origin of the Píks supports, and is supported by, that of Tacitus. It follows. *Et cum plurimam insulæ partem [Britones] incipientes ab austro possedissent, contigit gentem Piëtorum de Scythia, ut perhibent, longis navibus non multis, oceanum ingressam, &c.* and then telling us they proceeded to Ireland, but not finding a settlement went over to the north of Britain, where they settled; *Itaque petentes Britanniam Piëti, habitare per septentrionales insulæ partes cæperunt. Nam austrina Britones occupaverant.* "And when the Britons, beginning from the south, had possessed the greater part of the island, it happened that the nation of the Píks, entering the ocean from Scythia, as is reported, in not many large ships," came to Ireland, where finding no settlement, they went over to North Britain; "Therefore the Píks going to Britain began to inhabit the northern parts of the island. For the Britons had seized the south."

The SCYTHIA of Beda is the GERMANY of Tacitus. The latter includes the nations of Scandinavia among the Germans; and Scythia had by Jornandes, 200 years before Beda, been a name given to Scandinavia: as indeed the Greeks had, 400 years before Christ, called Germany Scythia, and especially the north of it, as may be seen in the Dissertation annexed. But to give the reader full satisfaction on this point, let us examine it here a little.

The error of Jornandes did not consist in calling Scandinavia, Scythia; for nothing is more certain, as shewn in the Dissertation, than that the Germans and Scandinavians were Scythians. But it lay in supposing Scandinavia the most ancient Scythia, from which all the Scythians proceeded. Jornandes tells, that the Scythians, or Goths, went from Scandinavia, his ancient Scythia, in three ships, under king Berig; an event which, according to him, must have happened ^{four} ~~two~~ thousand years

years before Christ ; for he after proceeds to state their progress to little Scythia, on the Euxine, and their expedition against Vexores, king of Egypt. This tale of Jornandes is in flat contradiction to Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancients ; and is so utterly childish, that it confutes itself. The three ships ; the one that lagged behind, whence the nation of Gepidæ, or Loiterers ; their arrival at Owin, in the north of Germany, where, by the falling of a bridge, a part were left, and the noise of their cattle heard to this day ; are all circumstances that would disgrace one of Mother Goose's Tales. Yet has this idiotic fable overturned the whole history of Europe ! I beg pardon of Jornandes, it is not his tale, but a gross misconception of it, which has had so important effects ! A gross misconception which has passed current among the most able writers, and at this hour stains the pages of Montesquieu, and other famous men !

O cæcas hominum mentes ! O pectora cæca !

This misconception lies in supposing that Jornandes brings the Goths from Scandinavia, about 200 years after Christ, as their name appears in Roman history about 250. Jornandes, ignorant as he was, well knew that, by the consent of all antiquity, the Scythians, Getæ, and Goths, were one and the same people ; and he always uses these words synonymously ; and he never even dreamed of the Goths being a late colony from Scandinavia, as above shewn. Hence this gross error lyes totally with our modern *celeberrimi*, and not with Jornandes.

But the fact is, as amply detailed in the Dissertation annexed, that the Scythians, otherwise called Getæ, or Goths, proceeded from present Persia upward, over the river Araxes, in Armenia, and the mountains of Caucasus, into little, or ancient Scythia, on the Euxine. Thence they spread into Thrace, Greece, Illyricum, Dacia, Germany, Scandinavia.

Scandinavia. From Scandinavia they proceeded to Scotland, Jutland, and the Danish isles. From Germany, to Gaul, and Spain, and Italy; and from at this day almost the whole inhabitants of Europe, the few Celts in the British isles, the Fins of Lapland, Finland, and Hungary, and the Sarmatians of Russia and Poland, being the sole exceptions. Herodotus knew the Germans by no other name or distinction, but as Scythians. Timæus, and other ancient writers, quoted by Pliny, call the north of Germany, Scythia. But Jornandes, being a writer much admired in the middle ages, was followed by Isidorus, Beda, Paulus Diaconus, &c. and it is from him that we must date their ascription of the name of Scythia to Scandinavia. The old geographer of Ravenna, who, according to Gronovius, wrote in the eighth century, says, book V. p. 106. *edit. Gronov. 1696, 8vo. In ipso autem oceano septentrionali est insula quæ dicitur Scanza, quæ et Antiqua Scythia a plurimis cosmographis appellatur.* ‘In the northern ocean is an island called Scanza,’ (a name always given by Jornandes, &c. to Scandinavia) ‘which is also called Ancient Scythia by many cosmographers.’ Even so late as the tenth century Audradus Modicus calls the Normans, who ravaged France in his time, SCYTHÆ: *apud Duchesne Script. Franc. Tom. II. p. 361.* Nay our Fordun, lib. I. c. 5. describes Scythia as bounded by the Baltic; and c. 30, 31, says the Picts came from it. And the name was generally used; for Anastasius Sinaita, a writer of the Ninth age, says, Σκυθίαν δὲ εἰωθᾶσι καλεῖν οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ κλίμα ἅπαν τὸ Βορρειον, ἐνθα οἰσιν οἱ Γότθοι καὶ Δάσυναι: ‘The ancients are accustomed to call all the northern region Scythia, where are the Goths and Danes.’ But not to insist further on a point so well known to the learned, let us proceed to state other evidences that the Picts came from Scandinavia, tho the above be fully sufficient, and any more proof be a work of supererogation.

Nennius

Nennius wrote his history of the Britons, or rather wild declamation concerning them, in 858, as appears from his work (*pref. ch. I. and XI, &c.*) and sent it to Samuel, his friend, who made many alterations on it. But as we know not whether Nennius, or Samuel, was most foolish, it is absurd to imagine with Bertram, his last editor, that Samuel was, and that the most foolish passages are his; while they seem to have been perfectly matched, so that the whole work may be taken in the lump, and quoted as written by Nennius and Samuel. The book has however it's value, as shewing the traditions and opinions of the Welch at the time it was written: and tho, compared to a Gothic Saga, it be as the dream of a madman compared to the dream of a sound mind, it has however been quoted by the most severe writers. Nennius and Samuel in their Fifth chapter, after narrating the arrival of the Britons, and before telling that of the Scots into Ireland from Spain, say, that 900 years after the time of Heli the priest, mentioned in ch. 4. and who lived 1200 years before Christ, that is, three hundred years before Christ, the Píks came to the Orkneys. Whence they seized all the north part of Britain, amounting to one third; and “hold it to this day:” that is, in 858, or just fifteen years after the Celtic dunces, who were the fathers of our history, tell that Kenneth, who in fact merely acceded to the Píkish throne, as shall be shewn after, had conquered the Píks, seven times in one day, and inviting that whole great nation to an entertainment had killed them all—and eaten them up! But take the words of Nennius and Samuel. *Post intervallum annorum multorum, non minus DCCCC, Píkti venerunt, et occupaverunt insulas quæ Orcades vocantur. Et postea ex insulis affinitimis vastaverunt non modicas et multas regiones; occupaveruntque eas in sinistrali plaga Britanniae, et manent usque in hodiernum diem. Ibi tertiam partem Britanniae tenuerunt; et tenent usque nunc.* “After an interval of many years not less

than nine hundred" [from the time of Eli], "the Píks came, and possessed the islands called Orkneys. And after from the neighbouring íles" [the Hebudes] "they ravaged many large regions; and seized on those in the LEFT part of Britain, and remain to this day. There they held the third part of Britain, and hold it at present". The word *sinistrali*, or *left*, means the north; a term which would readily occur to a priest who turns his face to the east°. The whole passage accords with Beda. The Píks coming from Norway seized on the Orkneys; thence went to Ireland, the usual course of the Norwegian invaders, but, finding no settlement, returned to the Hebudes, where they fixt the first seat of their dominion; and where Solinus, about 250, describes their monarchy. Thence they invaded and seized all Scotland by degrees.

The Saxon Chronicle, written in the Eleventh century, says, that the Píks came from the *rþan* or *Scitþian*, *Sutþan of Scittþian*, "south of Scythia." That is, the south of Scandinavia, where Vika lay as above shewn.

The whole ancient English historians, who mention the origin of the Píks, say they came from Scythia, or Scandinavia. It is needless to crowd these pages with their expressions, while the reader can so easily satisfy himself, if he doubts.

Geofrey of Monmouth, tho a Celtic writer, and a most stupid fabulist, yet in so grand and known a point must have followed the traditional opinion of his country. He dates the First arrival of the Píks in the time of Vespasian; and says, *quidam rex Pictorum vocabulo Rodric, de Scythia cum magna classe veniens, applicuit in aquilonarem partem Britanniae*. Lib. IV. c. 17. A Second arrival Geofrey places in the time of Severus, when one Ful-

° Nennius uses the same phrase in different places, as c. 61. and c. 64. he says: "Ida filius Eobbæ tenuit regiones in sinistrali parte Humbri." He is speaking of Ida, first king of Northumberland.

genius passing to Scythia, (*transfretantem in Scythiam*) brought assistance from the Piks, and settled them in the north of Britain. A Third Arrival under Gratian and Valentinian is mentioned by an old author of an *Eulogium Britanniae*, quoted by Usher^p, who says, *Gratianus et Valentinianus, fratres et imperii consortes, gentem Gothicam Pictorum, in rebus bellicis fortem et strenuam, beneficiis et blanditiis allectam, a Scythiae finibus ad Britanniam direxerunt. At Britones inermes, et omni militia nudati, a Pictis suppeditantur, sic quod Picti accolæ facti sunt in parte Britanniae aquilonari.* “Gratian and Valentinian, brothers and joint emperors, brought the Gothic nation of the Piks (bold and vigorous in war, and won by benefits and promises) from the country of Scythia into Britain. But the Britons, unarmed and destitute of discipline, are supplanted by the Piks, so that the Piks became their neighbours in the northern part of Britain.” And Giraldus Cambrensis, *de Institutione Principis*, lib. I.^q says, *Cum Maximus tyrannus de Britannia in Galliam, cum robore virorum et virium, necnon et armorum, insulæ toto, ad occupandum Imperium transvectus fuisset, Gratianus et Valentinianus, fratres Imperiique consortes, gentem Gothicam, in rebus bellicis fortem ac strenuam, sibi quoque vel confæderatam, vel subiectam, et imperialibus beneficiis obstrictam, a Scythiae finibus, in aquilonares Britanniae partes, ad Britones infestandum, et tyrannum cum juventute revocandum, navigio transmiserunt. Illi vero, tum quoniam pro innata Gothorum bellicositate prævalidi fuerunt, tum quoniam insulam viris ac viribus vacuam*

^p Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, cap. XV. p. 308. Edit. Londin. 1687, fol.

^q Ibid. This work of Giraldus is a very scarce MS. One is in the Cotton Library, Julius, B. XIII. and this passage may be found literatim, lib. I. c. 18. *De Principum electorum tam vita laudabili quam fine*, f. v. 50: where, in giving brief lives of Roman emperors, he mentions the origin of the Piks and Scots, when they first appear in Roman history.

invenerunt, Boreales ejusdem partes, ac provincias non modicas, ex prædonibus accolæ facti sibi usurpatas occupaverunt. “When Maximus the tyrant had passed from Britain into Gaul, with the whole force of men, strength and arms of the island, in order to seize on the Empire, Gratian and Valentinian, brothers and joint Emperors, transmitted in ships a Gothic nation, strong and vigorous in war, and either confederate with, or subject to them, and bound by their imperial benefits, from the territory of Scythia, into the northern parts of Britain, to infest the Britons, and cause the tyrant to return with his young army. But they, as well because that they were very powerful from the innate warlike spirit of the Goths, as by reason they found the island empty of men and strength, from ravagers became inhabitants; and usurping the northern parts, and no small provinces, held them to themselves.”

As we have Tacitus and Beda, writers unknown to the Welch fablers, we know that the periods above fixt are absolutely false. 1. That the Piks could not come in the time of Vespasian, we know from Tacitus and Ptolemy. 2. That they did not come in that of Severus, from Dio and Herodian, who still found the same Caledonii in Scotland, that Tacitus and Ptolemy had. 3. That they came not under Gratian and Valentinian, or after 375, when these emperors began to reign, is clear from Eumenius, who mentions Constantius in 306, as having pervaded *Caledonum aliorumque Piætorum sylvas*, ‘the woods of the Caledonians, and other Piks.’ Indeed no one would ever think of setting these Welch fablers against Tacitus and Beda, or even against Nennius and Samuel, their countrymen, but older by three whole centuries, and which last assert the Piks to have been here 300 years before Christ. But not to insist on a point where no difficulty occurs, it is well known to be quite another matter to know a FACT, and to know

know the *date* of it. The Northern Sagas, and earliest Histories, are infallibly right that the Goths came from Scythia on the Tanais; but when they date this in the time of Pompey, as Snorro does, they only excite laughter; for we know that the Goths could not, as they tell, pass thro all Germany, and go into Scandinavia by Jutland and Zeeland, while Cæsar was at that very time warring in Germany, yet knew nothing of so enormous an event. Chronology is always totally deficient among barbarous nations; and in traditional history it is always utterly confused. Nennius tells us that in his time the Welch had not one historian^r; and how Geofrey and Giraldus, who wrote about 1150, three centuries after Nennius, could discover these pretended settlements of the Píks, save by a *special revelation*, is humbly submitted to the reader's judgment. But that the Píks were Goths from Scandinavia, is clear from Tacitus and Beda; and that Geofrey and Giraldus knew this great fact, tho they erred in the date, is no wonder. Facts remain while dates perish.

The countries nearest Scotland, and whose writers had of course the best opportunity to mark the origin of the Píks, are Norway and Denmark on the east, Iceland on the north: Ireland on the west, and England and Wales on the south. The writers of Norway, Denmark, and Iceland, are silent as to the event of the Píks passing to Scotland; just as Saxo and the others are silent as to the Jutes and Angles passing to England. But from them we fully trace the Píks in Norway, as above shewn. The English and Welch writers are decided that the Píks came from Scandinavia,

^r Sed quoniam utcunque historiographum Britannorum me malo esse quam *neminem*. Præf. Ego Nennius, Sancti Elbodi discipulus, aliqua excerpta scribere curavi, quæ hebetudo gentis Britanniae dejecerat; quia nullam peritiam habuerunt, neque ullam commemorationem in libris posuerunt, doctores illius insulæ Britanniae. *Init. op.*

as before specified ; and so are the Irish, as shall be stated. When all authorities thus agree, and every argument from reason supports them ; he must be a mere theorist, who would advance the weak dreams of Camden, Lloyd, and Innes (certainly not profound writers), against a fact positive even to mathematical truth, or at least to a degree which no fact whatever in ancient history can exceed : for no fact of Greek or Roman history is supported by numerous testimonies of neighbouring nations as this is.

O Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*, Part III. ch. 18. treats *Pictorum in Hiberniam, et inde in Britanniam, migratio*. ‘ The Migration of the Piks into Ireland, and thence to Britain.’ His authority is nothing. It is that of the ancient writers, whom he and other Irish antiquaries quote, that merits regard. These say that the Piks came from Denmark and Norway to Ireland, where finding no settlement, they went over to North Britain. The whole Irish annals that mention the Pikish origin, and in particular the book of Lecan, place the arrival of the Piks in the reign of Heremon, the founder of the Milesian race ; that is, as they dream, thirteen hundred years before Christ. This shews however that in Ireland, which was in the time of Beda remarkable for such learning as then existed, it was well known that the Piks had come to Scotland at a most remote and ancient period.

It is unnecessary to add any more authorities. Suffice it to say, that EVERY writer who mentions the origin of the Piks till 1707, when Lloyd’s *Archæologia* appeared, derives them from Scandinavia, *excepting Camden alone*. Camden applied to some very ignorant Welchman, as appears from his papers in the *Musæum**, for etymologies and hints for his *Britannia*. Humphrey Lluyd, tho much

* Cotton Lib. Julius, F. X.

too learned to make the Piks Welch, had yet by his *Commentariolum*, printed about 1570, introduced a lunatic desire among his countrymen of making eminent men, and nations, of antiquity, Welch. Brennus and his German Gauls are with him all Welch of Wales, with other such anility. Hence this silly Welch informant of Camden, being so ignorant as not even to suspect the blaze of evidence against him, thought he would also try his hand, and make some more Welch; so seized on Galgacus and the Piks, and threw them into his Welch mold. But Camden, who was himself far from learned, seems to have met his Welch adjutant half way; for some arguments, he details, seem to be from his own purse. It appears from his work, that he clearly saw the Caledonians and Piks were all one, which it indeed required no penetration to discover: he also knew that the Caledonians were Britons—here was the rub! He forgot that he was himself a Briton; and yet was no Welchman. Had he read Cæsar he might have learned that the Belgæ, who possessed half of present England, when Cæsar came, were Britons, and yet were not Welch, but real Goths of Germany; or, if you please, real Englishmen, being as much English as the Saxons. But the *arguments* that the Piks were Welch being already shewn in the preceding Section to be childish and absurd, that risible ground need not be trodden again. Camden is a valuable topographer, which he may well be without any pretence to learning; but with regard to the origin of nations, a subject requiring the most profound learning, he knew as much as a child; and is the object of laughter and contempt to his learned countrymen, Usher, Stillingfleet, Sheringham, and others.

At length this Eighteenth century, fatal to real and solid literature, was to arise. A century in which men, women, and children, write, and all write alike well: as indeed all may follow a trade

in which no apprenticeship is now required. A century in which learning, the grand foundation of philosophy among the ancients, is despised; and ignorance is called philosophy. Now and not before, among other great discoveries, were the whole nations of Europe to be Celts: and the Piks to be Welch, Irish, or what you will. That the Piks were Welch is supported by the names of Lloyd, Innes, Guthrie, Hume, Whitaker, &c. and within these ten years that they were Gael, or Irish, by those of that *par nobile* the Macphersons, of Henry, and i tremble to say Gibbon, which last instead of bestowing even the slightest examination on the subject, has been led by the Macphersons, whose little local designs his large mind could not even suspect. Such is the progressive decline of literature! To such heights will ignorance arrive! But since printing is invented the materials of science cannot be lost, tho science itself may; and it may safely be prophecied that learning, as it ebbs in one century, may flow in another. As it is observed that the darkness of night is always thickest just before the dawn springs, such it is to be hoped will be the case here.

CHAP.

C H A P T E R IV.

Epoch of the Pikiſh ſettlement in Scotland.

THE time when the Pikiſs firſt ſettled in preſent Scotland well deſerves a ſeparate conſideration. Chronology is the lateſt improvement of hiſtory; and is never to be expected among uncivilized nations. Yet of the period of the great event now conſidered there are many marks.

From the Diſſertation, at the end of this work, it will appear that the Goths had peopled Germany and Scandinavia about 500 years before our æra. Being a progeny whoſe ſole trade was war, their inroads upon their neighbours were perpetual; and their progreſs, from their ſuperiority in arms, continuous. The ſettlements of the Belgæ, and other German nations in Gaul, cannot be dated later than 400 years before Chriſt; for in Cæſar's time we find them ſpred from Belgic Gaul, over a great part of Britain; and ſo effectually fixt as to be warring among themſelves, the Cimbri their old enemies being driven to the north and weſt. Not leſs than 150 years can, in the courſe of human affairs, be allowed for ſo ample and complete a ſettlement as this of the Belgæ in Britain; and Cæſar gives no hint that it was a recent affair. So that it may ſafely be ſuppoſed that the Belgæ, the real anceſtors of three quarters of the preſent Engliſh, were ſettled in the ſouth and eaſt coaſts, at leaſt 200 years before Chriſt; and began theſe ſettlements about 300 years before Chriſt.

The

The Peukini, Peohtar, Pihtar, Vichar, or Piks, were, as would appear, also settled in Scandinavia at least 500 years before our æra. From thence their only two ancient migrations were into present Scotland, and into present Denmark. It is matter of curious consideration which of these colonies preceded in order of time. From the greater vicinity of Denmark, it might reasonably be inferred that it was held by the earliest colony. But there are facts which weigh against this opinion : and human affairs by no means proceed in formal order.

The Cimbri, or Cimmerii, ancient Celtic inhabitants of Germany, and who spread from the Bosphorus Cimmerius on the Euxine, north to about Moscow in Russia, where was the *Promontorium Celticae*, mentioned by Pliny ; and west to the Chersonesus Cimmerius, or Jutland, and to Britain, where the Cumri, or Welch, still retain their name, as the aboriginal Irish do that of Gael, or Gaulic Celts, these Cimbri proceeded into Italy 102 years before Christ. They had been expelled from the north west of Germany, not by incroachment of the Sea, as Plutarch fables, but by invasion of that Gothic ocean of men, which overwhelmed all Europe. Tacitus found only a few remains of them at the south-west extremity of present Jutland. All around were German nations, who, if we do not reject all authorities and facts, were Goths ; while the Cimbri, if we follow not the same plan, were Celts. These small remains shew that the Cimbri were expelled ; for had they left their country from excess of population, as the Gothic nations did, that population could not have totally failed in two centuries. That they were driven out by a nation from the north has been already shewn ; and that this nation was the Piks, who seizing their possessions became the Vits of Vitland, now Jutland, and of Vitslett, or

or the Daniſh Iles. That the Jutes and Danes came from Scandinavia has alſo been ſhewn to be clear from that infallible mark, their language, which is the Scandinavian dialect of the Gothic, and not the German dialect of that tongue. Now Plutarch and other ancients deſcribe the progreſs of the Cimbri into Gaul, and their attacks of Spain and Italy, as events of rapid ſucceſſion; and not more than ten years can be allowed for the whole. So that the expulſion of the Cimbri from preſent Denmark could not take place more than 112 years before Chriſt.

The Cimbri of preſent Denmark were between two fires, the Germans on the ſouth, and Scandinavians on the north; whence we may naturally conclude, that their defence of their laſt reſeſs on the continent was very long, and obſtinate as deſpair could make it. The Piks might alſo ſtand in awe of the Germans, who might have regarded their invaſion of the Cimbri as an attack of territories, more properly their own prey, as contiguous neighbours; while the Piks were divided from them by a wide ſea. Hence it would require the full power of the Piks, and long and deſperate conſtits, to effectuate their conqueſt of preſent Denmark: and Denmark deſerves to be conſidered as the moſt hazardous and glorious of the Pikiſh ſettlements.

Far other was the caſe with the Pikiſh population of Scotland. There was indeed a wider ſea between Scandinavia and Scotland, than between Scandinavia and Jutland. But, on the other hand, to paſs this ſea was a matter ſo eaſy, even to barbarians, that Indians in their canoes have peopled regions twice as diſtant; and to this day the ſavage Fins in their ſkiffs have come even from Finland to the Shetland and Orkney iſes, a courſe of at leaſt ſix hundred miles further than that between the ſouth of Norway and Scotland, which exceeds

ceeds not two hundred and fifty miles ^a. Tacitus^b also informs us that the Suiones, who were really the Piks of Vitflet, called Suiones, or Zeewoners by their southern neighbours, the Germans, because they *dwelled* in the *sea* (as islanders) were remarkable for navigation, having FLEETS, an advantage quite unknown to the other German and Scandinavian states. And these fleets were of SHIPS, *navium*, which Tacitus thus describes. “The form of the ships differs from ours, because that a prow at either end makes landing always easy. They have no sails, nor are the oars ranged in order on the sides. The vessel is of free construction, as used on some rivers; and may be steered to whatever point is necessary.” This shews to a certainty, that navigation was not only known to these Scandinavians, but had arrived at such perfection, that Tacitus talks of their SHIPS, and compares them with the Roman. A passage of 250 miles in open sea was certainly no great affair to the dauntless courage of that people. In later times we find them in vessels, perhaps neither larger nor more artificial, ravaging England, Ireland, and France; nay, discovering Iceland and Greenland, and Vinland, or a part of North America^c. Their invasion of Scotland had none of these difficulties to be found in that of Denmark. In Denmark the Cimbri were com-

^a It is also probable, that there were sundry isles between Norway and Scotland anciently, tho now swallowed up. The *Saxonum Insulæ* of Ptolemy are lost: and *Helgoland*, an island in the same parts, was, a few centuries ago, reduced to one quarter of it's ancient size. See Bleau's Atlas, for a map of ancient and modern Helgoland. If the Piks coasted along the shore of Norway northward, and then passed over to the Shetland Isles, the passage is not above 150 miles.

^b Germania, *prope fin.*

^c See the *Vinlandia Antiqua* of Torfæus, 1705, 8vo. and *Northern Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 280. It was part of Canada, or of Newfoundland, and discovered, in the year 1001, by Heriolf and Biarn, Icelanders.

preſſed, and crouded to a point, and very numerous. In Scotland the population was looſe, and vague, as uſual among the Celts, a paſtoral people. In Denmark the Cimbri were confined, and bold from deſpair. In Scotland they had free egreſs to their brethren in the ſouth, and to Ireland. In Scotland there were no Suevi, no northern Germans, ‘to whom the gods were not equal^d,’ to awe the Piks from an invaſion of territories contiguous to their own, and marked as their prey.

I have all along conſidered the paſſage of the Piks from Norway to the Orkneys as the ſole point worth conſideration in this progreſs; and every reader will, it is believed, regard it in the ſame light. For the *coaſting* voyage from the Orkneys to Ireland and the Hebudes was nothing even to an Indian canoe. The Romans thought it a ſerious affair to paſs from Gaul to Britain; yet their fleet, during Agricola’s campaigns, coaſted all round Britain, and firſt diſcovered it to be an iſland, as Tacitus ſhews. And they after ventured into the Zuyder Zee, and the Baltic. But *coaſting* voyages of great length are eaſily performed, even by the moſt barbaric navigation: and there is no occaſion to explain the cauſes of a matter ſo well known, and obvious. The paſſage from Norway to the Orkneys was the only difficulty; and that ceaſed to be a difficulty to people ſo ſkilled in navigation as in the time of Tacitus to have fleets of ſhips. Hence there can be no heſitation in believing that the Piks proceeded to Scotland, near two centuries before they were ſo bold as to ſeize on Denmark; while indeed we have direct authorities that ſuch was the caſe. And there are alſo collateral proofs, that the Cim-

^d Cæſar Bell. Gall. lib. IV. where the ſouthern Germans ſay: ‘ſeſe unis Suevis concedere, quibus ne dii quidem immortales pares eſſe poſſint.’

bri must have been driven out of Scotland (north of Loch Fyn, and Tay), sooner than out of Denmark, for Tacitus found remains of the Cimbri in the south of present Denmark; and the Danish histories are full of the Cimbri, who, according to them, were conquered by the Goths about the time of Pompey: while in Scotland, north of the above bounds, we should not have known that the Cimbri ever dwelled, save by a few Cumraig names of rivers, mountains, and stations of old Cimbric towns. But that the Piks did not possess Denmark till about 112 years before Christ, has been shewn above; and that they held Scotland at least 200 years before Christ, will appear from the following discussion.

Tacitus is the first who mentions the people of Caledonia, or Piks; and tho he says they were certainly of Germany, he drops no hint as to the time of their passage. Eumenius, the Panegyrist, says, that before the time of Julius Cæsar the Piks were the accustomed enemies of the Britons. He uses the term Britons in the then acceptation of the word, for the Cumraig Britons, those whom Cæsar thought born in the island. For the Piks were quite unknown to the Romans, save in Britain. Hence Eumenius is a witness that the Piks were settled in the north of Britain before the time of Julius Cæsar.

Beda dates the settlement of the Piks in Britain, as coeval with what he thought it's first habitation by the Cumraig Britons: and he tells us in express terms, that they were the first inhabitants of the northern parts. The Cumri seem to have possessed Britain 1000 years before Christ; and, by Beda's account, the Piks did as anciently. But Beda, speaking of the passage of the Britons from Armorica, seems rather to allude to the Belgic Britons; who were in fact coeval with the Piks in their possessions, both coming in, as would seem, between 300 and 200 years before our æra.

Nennius and Samuel report, from Britiſh tradition, that the Pikiſ came to the Orkneys 900 years after Eli, who lived 1200 years before Chriſt; that is, THREE HUNDRED years before our æra. Abandoning the Orkneys, which Solinus mentions as uninhabited, even in his time, or 250 years after Chriſt, they paſſed to Ireland; then ſtood over to the Hebud iſles, their firſt poſſeſſion here, and in time the early ſeat of their kingdom. Theſe are the *neighbouring iſles* of Nennius, whence he tells us, the Pikiſ ravaged and ſeized on all the northern part of Britain, amounting to one third. For this large conqueſt of a hilly country full of receſſes, and conſequent population of it, we cannot allow leſs than a century: and the Pikiſ may be regarded as inhabitants of all the country north of Loch Fyn and Tay, about 200 years before Chriſt.

The Irish Annals, above quoted, date the firſt king of the Pikiſ as early as the time of Here-mon; or, as they dream, 1300 years before our æra. But their ſettlement preceded this firſt king a long time; and the Pikiſh kings, down to 400 years after Chriſt, were merely princes of the Hebud iſles, as after to be mentioned.

From theſe circumſtances, and eſpecially from the direct authority of Nennius and Samuel, the ſettlement of the Pikiſ in the Hebud iſles may be dated, with as great certainty as any event in the earlieſt Greek or Roman hiſtory, at 300 years before Chriſt. And their poſſeſſion of all Scotland north of Fyn and Tay, at a century after, or 200 years before our æra. If you date this event later, you will find Eumenius, Beda, Nennius, and the Irish Annals, againſt you. If earlier, you will interfere with the Gothic progreſs, detailed in the Diſſertation added. While, with the date here aſſigned, all authorities and circumſtances agree.

When

When the English history becomes studied by English writers, and it is universally perceived that the Belgæ, a Gothic people who fought in this ile with Julius Cæsar, are the real ancestors of three quarters of the present English, it may prove a national question, whether the Belgæ, or Piks, were the first Goths who took possession of Britain. This question might be agitated to all eternity, for it is absolutely impossible to decide it. It may be asserted that the Piks preceded the Belgæ, because the later were a colony of a colony, sent into Gaul from Germany; while the former passed as a direct colony from Scandinavia. It may be asserted, that the Belgæ preceded the Piks, because the later had to cross a wide sea, the former only the straits of Dover. For my part, who as a British subject wish equally well to the glory of all the three kingdoms, i shall content myself with observing that the point can never be determined, so that controversy on it is absolutely useless: and that all authorities, facts, and reason, warrant us to believe, that the Belgæ entered the south, and the Piks the north of Britain, about one and the same time.

CHAPTER V.

Province of Vespasiana.

THIS province rests entirely upon the authority of Richard of Cirencester, a writer of the fourteenth century ; not one trace of it being to be found in any other author, till after his book was published in 1757. It would seem from his accounts to have been founded after the victories of Lollius Urbicus, and the erection of the wall of Antoninus, about the year 140 ; and Richard specially mentions that it was lost in the year 170, which was in the time of Marcus Antoninus. His predecessor Pius, in whose reign it was acquired, appears to have given it the name of Vespasiana, from the emperor, to whose reign Agricola was indebted for his glory, in first subduing it.

Richard hints, p. 31^a. that it was called Vespasiana from the name of that emperor, who brought the Flavian family to the Roman throne ; and received that name in Domitian's time. But that Agricola founded this province seems improbable ; for Richard, whose authority is all we have for it's existence, says expressly, it was lost in 170 ; and Hadrian built his wall, between Solway and Tyne, about 120, and would certainly have built

^a Hæc provincia dicta est in honorem familiæ Flaviæ, cui suam Domitianus Imperator originem debuit, et sub quo expugnata, Vespasiana.

it between Clyde and Forth at least, had Vespasiana been then subject to Rome. Richard also repeatedly mentions the very short time that this province was subject to Rome. Had Agricola founded it about the year 80, it must have existed 90 years, no short space; whereas 30 years seem the most that can be allowed.

Botanus . . Tacitus is also a clear witness against Vespasiana being founded by Agricola, for he says *perdomita Britannia, et statim missa*^b, that Britain was conquered, and INSTANTLY given over. For after ~~Crispinus~~, in Domitian's time, we find no hint concerning Britain, till Hadrian withdrew the boundary.

This province Vespasiana, according to Richard, stretched north from the Forth and Clyde up to Linnhe Loch and Loch Nefs, or that line upon which Forts William, Augustus, and George, now stand. In it were the nations *Horestii* of Fife; *Vecturones*, or *Venricones*, beyond the Tay, or in Perth and Angus; *Taixali* of Aberdeenshire; *Vacomagi* of Murray, and a part of Inverness; *Damarii Albani* and *Attacotti* of Argyleshire. Richard's geography has no chronology; and the times of Agricola and Theodosius are all confounded by him; hence the Attacotti, unknown to Ptolemy, or the Roman writers, till a late period, and who actually came from Ireland, about 258, as after shewn, are foisted in here.

The towns of the *Horestii*, by Richard's account, were *Alauna*, *Lindum*, and *Victoria*. The *Vecturones*, or *Venricones*, had *Orrea*, and two rivers *Æsica* and *Tina*. The *Taixali* had *Divana*, and the rivers *Deva* and *Ituna*. The *Vacomagi*, a large nation, had three towns, *Tuessis*, *Tamea*, and *Banatia*, with *Ptoroton*, perhaps now Inverness,

^b Hist. lib. I. *init.* Turbatum Illyricum: Gallia nutantes: perdomita Britannia, et statim missa: coortæ in nos Sarmatarum ac Suevorum gentes. Edit. Brotier, who remarks, *Ab Agricola perdomita, mox omissa et neglecta.*

the metropolis of the province; their rivers *Varar*, *Tuesis*, and *Celnus*. The *Attacotti* had *Theodosia*, or *Alcluith*, built by Theodosius: which last is a palpable error, for *Alcluith*, or *Theodosia*, was in *Valentia*.

Richard also gives an itinerary of this province, thus: ITER IX. *A Luguballio Ptorotonim usque, sic*: Trimontio *m. p.* . . . *Gadanica m. p.* . . . *Corio m. p.* . . . *ad Vallum m. p.* . . . *Incipit Vespasiana*. *Alauna m. p.* XII. *Lindo IX*. *Victoria IX*. *ad Hiernam IX*. *Orrea XIV*. *ad Tavum XIX*. *ad Æficam XXIII*. *ad Tinam VIII*. *Devana XXIII*. *ad Itunam XXIV*. *ad montem Grampium, m. p.* . . . *ad Selinam m. p.* . . . *Tuesis XIX*. *Ptorotone, m. p.* . . .

ITER. X. *ab ultima Ptorotone per mediam insulæ Isca Damnonorum usque, sic*: *Varis m. p.* VIII. *ad Tueffim XVIII*. *Tamea XXIX*. * * * *m. p.* XXI. *in Medio IX*. *Orrea IX*. *Victoria XVIII*. *ad Vallum XXXII*. *Luguballia LXXX*. &c.

This new province is the most prominent and remarkable part of Richard's book. To trust an author of the fourteenth century, for so great an affair, seems rash. Yet two thirds of his work we know to be true, from Ptolemy and other ancients; and the Itinerary, he says, is from the memorials of a Roman Dux, or Governor of Britain. Certain it is, that his accounts quadrate amazingly, and bear every mark of truth. The few names he gives of rivers, &c. not in Ptolemy, often resemble the present names; yet are so truly latinized, that Roman mouths alone seem able to have formed them. This province of *Vespasiana* is repeatedly mentioned, upon many occasions, in the course of his work, beside the special description he gives of it.

Had such a province existed for 90 years, as Richard seems to insinuate, many Roman inscriptions, coins, &c. must at this day be found in it's

limits. But, as mentioned above, 30 years seem to have formed it's real duration. Yet even from that space inscriptions and coins may be expected. Ptorotone, or Inverness, the capital of the province, must in that case have many Roman remains. Urns of Roman coins have been found in the north of Scotland; but these may have been carried off in booty by the Piks. Roman inscriptions, roads, and remains of buildings, are what we must look for, as confirmations of the province of Vespasiana.

Arthur's Oven, which Horfeley plausibly thinks a sepulchre, stood about ten miles beyond the wall of Antoninus. The author of an old map, in the Additamenta to Matthew Paris, says the great Roman way went to Caithness^c, a vague name for the northern parts of Scotland. If my memory serves me, one Roman inscription was found in Stirlingshire; tho i cannot say where i found this information. Chance may befriend us afterward, and a peasant digging a ditch may discover a Roman province. Mr. Nimmo, in his History of Stirlingshire, describes the great Roman way running thro that shire, and north to Stratherne. If it can be traced to Inverness, it will be an INFALLIBLE confirmation of the province of Vespasiana; for such ways were never made, save in the provinces; as it would have been indeed madness to attempt such a vast labour as a Roman military road, in an enemy's country, and impossible to accomplish it. As the case stands, tho not willing to lend credit to Richard implicitly, yet i confess even this Roman Road to the Tay is with me a full and complete confirmation of Richard's account; for a Roman road was never made, save in a Roman province. And it was of course the first care, in order to facilitate intercourse, and keep the province in order. A

^c See it published in Mr. Gough's British Topography.

military

military way can be traced thro Trajan's province of Dacia, up to it's furthest extremity ; but beyond a province, no road was ever made : and the idea would have been madness, as it would have been to incur great danger and expence—to serve the enemy : not to add, that it was utterly impracticable.

This Roman road passes from Castlecary, on the wall of Antoninus (along which wall a similar road runs), north to Stirling town, about sixteen English miles. From thence it goes north by Keir to Dunblane ; and thence on to Stratherne, beyond which Mr. Nimmo says nothing of it's progress, as not being examined by him. But this course cannot be less than 30 miles. Mr. Nimmo describes this great road as consisting of several layers of stone and earth, which seem to have been thrown upon one another as they came to hand, for the stones are of all dimensions. It is generally about twelve feet in breadth ; and it's foundation is so deep, that, in the formation of it, they seem first to have digged a ditch, which they filled up again with stones and earth, till they raised it at least a foot above the surface. It always rises in the middle, and slopes toward the edges ; and on each side, especially where the ground is marshy, there has been a small ditch, or drain, to keep the work dry : so that at present, when it is all covered with grass, it has much the resemblance of a ridge that has lain long unplowed. The stones of the uppermost layer are generally of so large a size, that, unless it was always well covered with gravel, it must have been very inconvenient to travel on. It's direction is as straight as the nature of the ground, thro which it passes, will permit.

Another part of this Roman way still further north, and in the shire of Angus, is described, and illustrated with a map, in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, N^o XXXVI. London,

1786, 4to. This part is seen about three miles north-east of Forfar, and there are two Roman camps on it, at about eight miles distance from each other. Roman Granaries were also found lately on the estate of Lundie, a few miles north-east of Dundee: and granaries certainly could not be erected but in a province.

General Roy ^d says, the Roman way ends at Reedy; but he suspects that vestiges of it may be discovered further north; and he mentions that the people of the country think it extends to Aberdeen.

Till it can be shewn that a Roman road was ever made, save in a Roman province, we have therefore absolute proof of the province of Vespasiana; and the historian of Scotland will do well to mark it's commencement about the year 140, and it's termination in 170. It does honour to the military prowess of the Picts, that this province had the shortest duration of any ever held by the Romans.

^d Roman Antiquities in North Britain, MS. in the King's Library. Other proofs of this province may be drawn from that valuable work. Roman coins, he says, are often found at Nairn, which is in the northern extremity of Vespasiana; as were also a Roman sword and spear. Fortingal, in Glenlyon, Braidalbin, is well known to be a Roman fort, not a camp. At Ardoch is a fine Roman station, which the general thinks *Lindum*. Inch Tuthill, on the Tay, is another very remarkable and beautiful, which may be *In Medio*. Gordon also, *Itin. Septen.* mentions an urn and Roman coins found near Glames, Strathmore; nay, some on the Boyne, p. 186. Maitland, *Hist. Scotl.* p. 149, tells us, that a Roman bath was found at Delvin, a Roman station on the east side of Tay; and mentions, p. 214, a Roman way from Fortingal toward Loch Tay. He also gives an inscription found at Ardoch, and preserved at Drummond castle, *Amonius Damionis cohortis primæ Hispanorum stipendiorum xxvii. Hæredes fieri curarunt.* Horsey p. 206, gives an inscription on a rock upon the north side of Stirling castle, apparently Roman, tho copied by some ignorant hand. Sir J. Dalrymple, *Remarks on Camden*, p. 181, mentions a fine marble vessel, curiously engraven, and full of Roman coins, being found at Bean-castle, near Nairn, 1460. Nairn may be the *Castra Alata*.

Tho

Tho this province was so soon abandoned, yet the Romans repeatedly visited this part of Britain. Our antiquists fondly ascribe all Roman remains in it to Agricola, tho this be nearly as ridiculous as it would be to impute those in Valentia to him. He was rather the first discoveror of *Vespasiana*, than the conquerer. In Valentia appeared Agricola, Bolanus, Lucullus, Hadrian, Lollius Urbicus, Marcellus^e, Pertinax, Severus, Geta, Caracalla, Constantius Chlorus, Constantine I. Constantians, Theodosius, Gallio : and, except distinguished by inscriptions, no sober antiquary will say to which of these must be ascribed the Roman remains found in Valentia. In *Vespasiana* Tacitus sufficiently marks the actions of AGRICOLA. The battle with Galgacus, General Roy thinks, was fought near Stonehaven ; and as he has travelled over Scotland with a military, as well as an antiquarian eye, great respect is due to his opinion. Agricola appears to have been little further north ; and, as he was instantly ordered home by Domitian, there is no possibility of his having left many works behind him. BOLANUS, as we learn from Statius, erected many works in Britain, and apparently in the north. But after this Britain was *statim missa*, as Tacitus says in his History written about the year 110. About the year 120, Hadrian, far from keeping *Vespasiana*, could hardly retain Valentia ; but built his wall from Solway to Tine. Yet about 150, when Ptolemy wrote, we find *Vespasiana* full of Roman towns. For these we are surely indebted to LOLLIVS URBICUS only, who, about the year 140, carried the Roman arms in Britain to a greater extent than ever ; as the wall of Antoninus, and work of Ptolemy, remain lasting proofs. To him therefore ought chiefly to be ascribed the Roman remains in *Ves-*

^e Xiphilinus in *Commodo* says, Commodus sent Marcellus Ulpus to repress the Britons who had passed the wall.

pasiana. This province was quite lost about the year 170, in spite of the efforts of CALPHURNIUS under Marcus Antoninus. After this, Commodus thought it sufficient to keep the Mæatæ in subjection: but SEVERUS, in the years 207 and 208, advanced even to the extremity of Britain, as we learn from Dio, who says he lost 50,000 men upon this occasion^f. After this, CONSTANTIUS

^f The Excerpta of Theodosius, taken from Dion, and published in the edition of the later by Leunclavius, p. 851, say, before mentioning the battle between Severus and Albinus; 'Then likewise in Britain, because the Caledonians did not keep their promise, being prepared to defend the Mæatæ, and because Severus was at that time intent upon a neighbouring war, Lupus was obliged to purchase a peace of the Mæatæ at a great price, some few captives being delivered up to him.' This happened nine years before Severus came into Britain. He passed two years warring in Caledonia; made peace in 209. In 210 he was still in York, as appears from his famous rescript dated at York, *Faustino et Rufo Cess. Cod. lib. III. tit. 32. l. 1.* He died at York in the beginning of February 211, as appears from Xiphilin, after a long illness. See Horsley's Brit. Rom.—Khell, in his *Supp. ad Num. Imp.* p. 101, gives a coin of Severus, IMP. XIII. on his Caledonian conquest. and he bears BRIT. on others.

Euseb. *Vita Const.* l. 25. says, Constantine defeated the Caledonians about 310. Fulgentius was assisted by the Caledonii. *Dion, et Eclog. Theodos.* For Constantius, in 306, see also *Gelas. Cizicen. lib. I. Acta Concilii Nicen. cap. 3.* In the time of Honorius, Victorinus restrained the Piks, as D'Anville says in his *Etats formés apres la chute de l'Emp. R.* p. 198; but I know not upon what authority. Camden gives this inscription, *Asterius Comes Pictorum, et Syra, cum suis votum solveret.* Blondus, a respectable author about the year 1500, who had MSS. now lost, but, according to the custom of that age, quotes no authorities, tells us, that a body of Piks was incorporated into the Roman army, under Honorius, and were called *Honoriaci*; a name occurring more than once in the *Notitia.* as do *Honoriani Attecotti Juniores.* The words of Blondus are, in describing the actions of Constantine the Usurper, in the time of Honorius; 'Armavit vero, immisitque in istos, (Hispanos) barbaros Pictos, qui ab Honorio, quietis ubique rebus, in fædus recepti, et in militiam Britannicam adlecti, Honoriaci vocabantur.' This was in 406: and these Piks, seizing the Pyrenees, soon after invited the Vandali, Suevi, and Alani, into Spain, and shared the booty, as Blondus says. *Histor. ab inclinatione Romani Imperii, Decad. I. lib. I. p. 12. edit. Froben. 1531, fol.*

CHLORUS,

CHLORUS, in 306, advanced to the woods of the Caledonians, according to the Panegyrist above quoted. But there is no reason to believe that Constans 342, Theodosius 367, or any Roman General after, advanced further than the Northern Wall. Which of the above was author of any particular camp, or fort, no true antiquary can venture to say. But the roads, stations, and other durable marks of a province, certainly belong to Lollius Urbicus, and his successors, founder and defenders of *Vespasiana*. Some of the Roman camps in *Vespasiana* are even crossed with others, so that they must have been held twice at distant times; as a large one at Ardoch in particular^z.

^z Gen. Roy's MS.

CHAPTER VI.

Pikish Tribes.

TACITUS is the earliest writer from whom any knowlege of this subject can be drawn. The seven years of Agricola's command in this island, were, from the accurate statement of Tacitus, thus filled. They extended, as Horsley shews, from the year of Christ 78 to 84, inclusive.

1. A. D. 78. In the autumn Agricola, tho the soldiers had presumed on resting that year, (*præsumpta apud militem illius anni quies*) quashes an insurrection of the *Ordovices* (Denbigh and Carnarvon); and subdues *Mona* (Anglesey).

2. A. D. 79. By his sudden incursions many states yielded to the terror of his arms, and gave hostages. These states were clearly those south of Forth, the *Ottadeni* and *Damnii*. Agricola tried the friths and woods; and prepared all for invading Caledonia. The winter was past in conciliating the minds of the new subjects; and teaching them the manners of Rome, as the chains of luxury are ever the strongest.

3. A. D. 80. This third year Agricola passing the Forth, laid open new nations (*novas gentes*); and ravaged all the country to the frith of Tay. Forts were built on the progress.

4. A. D. 81. To secure the new possessions, a line of forts was built between Forth and Clyde^a.

5. A.

^a Statius, *Sylva* 2. lib. V. has a singular passage concerning these forts. He is addressing Crispinus on the actions of his father.

5. A. D. 82. Passing with his fleets along the western shore, he subdued nations till then unknown; and fortified that part of Britain which regards Ireland. The army must have wintered at the new line of forts, between Forth and Clyde: and it appears, from the tenor of the context, that Agricola, finding there was a large tract unvisited on the west (Galloway), thought it indispensable to subdue it, ere he made further attempts on Caledonia, in order that he might leave no enemies behind him. It was natural indeed the fleet should be ordered up to the frith of Clyde, to supply the army and forts with provisions; and in this new progress they would necessarily discover present Galloway; which would hitherto have escaped Agricola; who, in his third year, had kept to the east, and passing between Forth and Clyde had ravaged to the Tay. These unknown states therefore were the *Selgovæ*, and *Novantæ*, who lay opposite to Ireland, and whose shores Agricola fortified*.

6. A. D. 83. The fleet was ordered round to the east, where it must have lain when the *Ufipii* sailed round Britain. The Caledonians rising in arms, surprised an advanced camp: but were defeated.

7. A. D. 84. The grand campaign in which Galgacus was defeated at the Grampian mountains.

‘Quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos!
 ‘Cum tibi longævus referet trucis incola terræ:
 ‘Hic fuetus dare jura parens: hoc cespite turmas
 ‘Affari. Nitidas speculas, castellaque, longe
 ‘Aspicias? Ille dedit: cinxitque hæc mænia fossa.
 ‘Belligeris hæc dona deis, hæc tela dicavit;
 ‘Cernis adhuc titulos; hunc ipse vaca tibus armis
 ‘Induit, hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno.’

It would hence seem that Vectius Bolanus, father of Crispinus, warred in North Britain; and improved the forts of Agricola.

* Since writing the above, i have seen General Roy's MS. and find he agrees with me in this point. He justly observes that Argyle and Cantire are so mountainous and rocky, that no army could march, and that they have no Roman remains.

The fleet attended Agricola along the eastern shore, as Tacitus shews. In the speech of Agricola, in our editions of Tacitus, he calls this *annus octavus*, the Eighth year; but this, as Horsley observes, is a mere error in transcribing; the numbers in old MSS. being always in numerals, so that *VIIIus* had crept in for *VIIus*. For Agricola says that the foe had surprised his camp the year before, *proximo anno*; and Tacitus expressly calls that the Sixth (*sextum officii annum*), as indeed his whole narrative shews. Agricola returning to the country of the Horesti (Fife) orders his fleet to sail round Britain: but it seems only to have visited the north-east shore, when it returned to the *Portus Trutulensis*, a place I can find in no geographer. Agricola is commanded home by Domitian.

From Tacitus, and Ptolemy, it is clear that the Caledonians, or Piks, held then all present Scotland, north of Loch Fyn and Tay. The proper name of the people, or that which they gave themselves, was *Pibtar*, or Piks. The name of *Caledonians* was apparently given them by their Cumraig neighbours; but its meaning it is impossible to determine, and the most plausible derivation may be the most false. *Kelydhon* is the Cumraig for *woods*; and it would seem that the name Caledonians means Woodlanders, as their territories were then covered with woods, and especially the vast Silva Caledonia. Tacitus and Ptolemy shew, that the name *Caledonians* was peculiar and appropriated to these Northern Britons. In vain does Mr. Whitaker^b attempt to prove it an indistinct term, because Richard of Cirencester, a writer of the Fourteenth century, ignorantly plants a Silva Caledonia in Kent, and another in Lincolnshire, as he gives us also the true one in Scotland; and because Lucan says

^b Genuine Hist. of the Britons, p. 125.

Aut vaga cum Tethys, Rutupinaque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.

and Valerius Flaccus to Vespasian,

Tuque, O pelagi, cui major aperti
Fama, Caledonius postquam tua carbasa vexit
Oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos.

Richard tells us^c he altered his authorities ; and, when he differs from Ptolemy, deserves no credit. The passage of Lucan only shews that even in his time the Caledonians were the most warlike and famous of the Britons ; whence he ignorantly and improperly applies their name to the whole. Flaccus refers not to the storm that damaged the fleet of Julius Cæsar ; but only says that the Caledonian ocean *disdained* him, for he never proceeded so far. But to oppose Lucan a poet who lived before any Roman had seen Caledonia, and Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the Fourteenth century, to Tacitus and Ptolemy, who so clearly testify that the name of Caledonians was peculiar to the Northern Britons, or Piks, were too absurd to deserve an answer. Large friths, and great fear, had separated the Piks from the Cumri, so that the later seem to have called them Caledonians, or Woodlanders, as we speak of Highlanders, not having any intercourse with them, so as to know their proper name. But when the Romans and

^c Lib. I. c. 7. ex Ptolemæo et aliunde nonnullis ordinem quoque, sed quod spero in melius, mutatum hinc inde deprehendes. The term *Kelydnon*, or *Woodlands*, might indeed be given by the Cumraig Britons to all the forests in Britain ; and thence different *Silvæ Caledoniæ*, the Romans taking *Kelydon* for a proper name. But no region in Britain was called *Caledonia* ; or it's people *Caledonii* ; except in the north. Ptolemy knew only of one *Silva Caledonia*, that among the *Caledonii*. Richard quotes Lucan for his *silva Caledonia* in Kent ; and Florus III. 10. for that in Lincoln-shire ! But it may be judged from these writers, that the Caledonians, and their forest, were famous among the Southern Britons ; and of course vaguely spoken of by the Romans, till Tacitus and Ptolemy disclosed their real situation.

Cumri in time discovered this proper name, they adopted it, and called them *Picti*, and *Phictioid*, as they modelled to their own tongues the word *Pictar*.

Nothing more puzzles a common reader than the multitude of *nations*, which he finds in the ancient barbaric countries. He is apt to conclude them all nations, in the modern acceptation; of different manners and origins. But these nations were only tribes, or, as we might say, people of different shires. The nations of savages in America are living images of these ancient nations.

Let us now proceed to state the Caledonian or Pictish Tribes, as given by Ptolemy. This geographer wrote in the reign of Antoninus Pius, as appears from his works. It seems also certain that he wrote after the province of Vespasiana was established; for the Roman towns *Οὐικτορίας* *Victoria*, and *Πτερωτον Στρατοπεδον*, *Castra Alata*, could in no other case have appeared in the present shires of Perth and Inverness. It has been shewn that the province Vespasiana could not be erected before Hadrian's time; nor till Lollius Urbicus by his victories obtained to Antoninus Pius the style of Britannicus, which appears on some of his coins: and by his great progress to the north occasioned the foundation of the wall of Antoninus. The very name of *Castra Alata*, as given by Ptolemy, is an invincible proof that the Roman light troops were stationed there, to protect this military and frontier province. Had not this part of Scotland been subject to Rome, the names of towns would have been barbarous, as those of Ireland given by Ptolemy, and could not have borne these irrefragable marks of Roman power. Agricola, to whom our infantine Scottish antiquists impute all the Roman remains in Scotland, had no time to build towns; as he was commanded home the very year he defeated Galgacus. Had he built them, the Piks, who ravaging all the north

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caused

caused Hadrian to retract the frontier to Solway and Tine, would have utterly demolished their name and existence. LOLLIVS URBICUS^d had unfortunately no Tacitus to narrate his actions; but he seems to have performed actions as much more glorious than those of Agricola, as the wall of Antoninus was superior to Agricola's line of forts. This wall could not have been built in the face of an enemy; and a considerable territory beyond it must have been subject to the Romans, as we know to have been the case with that of Hadrian. Ptolemy seems to have written his geography about the year 150: and the Pikish tribes, as he describes them, going up the east shore, and down the west, were as follow.

1. The ΟΥΕΝΙΚΟΝΤΕΣ, *Venicontes*, between Tay and Dee, or in present Angus and Mearns. The rivers of the Venicontes were the Ταουα, *Tava*, *Tay*, Τιννα, *Tinna*, or North Esk, and Διουα, *Diva*, or Dee. Richard says, p. 30, the Venricones, or Vecturones; but the *Vecturones*, as he well marks in his own map, was a great name including the Venicontes and Taixali, or all the east of Scotland. Nay from Ammianus Marcellinus it appears to have included all the Piks, save the *Dicaledonæ* on the *Oceanus Deucalidonijs*, or Northern sea; that is the name of Vecturiones spread over the whole province of Vespasiana up to Lochs Linnhe and Ness.

^d Nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit; alio muro cespitio, submotis barbaris, ducto. *Capitol. in Pio.* Britannos per Lollium Urbicum proprætorem, et Saturninum præfectum classis vicit; alio muro, submotis barbaris, ducto. *Ricard. Corin.* Richard seems to have seen, and copied, most writers concerning Britain: and had perhaps found occasion to consult many in his journey to Italy. Yet Roger of Chester, a writer of the same period, shews still greater learning; and quotes with much accuracy and care. Good authors and MSS. must have been common in England in the 14th century; the invention of common paper, at the beginning of that century, multiplying copies prodigiously.

2. Next were the ΤΕΞΑΛΟΙ, *Tekali*, of Aberdeenshire, who had the town Δεουαίνα, *Devana*, or old Aberdeen; the promontory Ταιξάλον ακρον, or Buchan-nefs; and rivers Κελνιος, *Celnius*, or Devon, and Τουαισις, *Tuesis*, or Spey.

3. The ΟΥΑΚΟΜΑΓΟΙ, *Vacomagi*, of Murray, and a part of Inverness and Perthshires, being at the extremity of the Roman power in this province, had no less than four towns, Βανατία, *Banatia*, about present Fort William, and ΠΤΕΡΩΤΟΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΝ, *Castra Alata*, Inverness, or Fort George. These two were the grand frontier stations against the enemy; and the fortified line of Vespasiana was that drawn in last reign against the highlanders, except that the Romans had no town at Fort Augustus in the middle, tho they may have had a fixt camp and forts. The other two towns of the Vacomagi were Τουαισις, *Tuesis*, on the Spey, and Ταμεία, *Tamia*.

4. The only other people^c in Vespasiana were the ΕΠΙΔΙΟΙ, *Epidii*, of Argyleshire, who held all the west of the province. Among them was the Λελαμονιος κολπος, *Lelamonius Sinus*, or Loch Fyn; and the Επιδιον ακρον, *Epidium promontorium*, or Mull of Cantire*. As to the Damnii Albani and Attacotti, whom Richard places in Argylé, they were not there in Ptolemy's time; but arrived about 258, being the first Scots from Ireland, as shall be after shewn. So much for the nations in

^c The Γαδηνοι, *Gadeni*, of Ptolemy were in present Dunbartonshire. But they were not Piks but Cumri. 1. Because Ptolemy marks the *Lelamonius Sinus*, or Loch Fyn, as the south-west boundary of the Caledonians, or Piks. 2. Because the Cumraig kingdom of Strathclyde included the south part of Dunbartonshire; and Dunbarton was it's capital.

* Hector Boethius mentions *Berigonium castellum in Loquabria, Hebridum prospectu, Dounstafage, id est, munitioni Stephani proximum*. This nonsense proceeded from Hector's supposing that Ptolemy's *Berigonium* in Galloway stood here, as he also thought *Camulodunum* was in Scotland! Hence our tales of *Berigon* and *Camelon*, for fables easily pass into tradition.

Vespasiana, where only Ptolemy knew towns, and two of them as above shewn infallibly Roman. The other nations, beginning on the east, and going down the west shore, were as follow.

5. The KANTAI, *Cantæ*, on the East of Ross-shire, who had the Ουαραι εισχυσις *Varar Æstuarium*, or Murray Frith, into which runs the river Beaulie, anciently called Farar, as it's vale is yet stiled Strath Farar, as Mr. Shaw^f tells : the Λοξα ποταμος, *Loxa fluvius*, or Loffe frith, now Cromarty frith; and a place called by Ptolemy Οχθη Υψηλη, *Ripa Alta*, which was infallibly a promontory; and was that called *Penoxullum promontorium* by Richard, who in like manner gives the Varar, Loxa, and this promontory, to the Cantæ. In Richard the name is Cumraig, *Pen-ochel*, the *high bead*; and has the same meaning with Ptolemy's term. It is now Tarbat Ness.

6. The MEPTAI, *Mertæ*, were in the middle of present Ross shire, and having of course no large rivers, &c. Ptolemy only gives the name.

7. The ΛΟΓΟΙ, *Logi*, in the south-east of Sutherland, had Ιλα ποταμος, *Ila fluvius*, Brora, or Vynes; and Βερουβιουμ ακρον, *Verubium promontorium*, or Ord of Caithness.

8. The ΚΟΡΝΑΤΙΟΙ, *Cornavii*, who had all the northern extremity of Scotland. These people Richard calls *Carnabii*; and says they and the Cantæ came from South Britain, where were also Cantæ in *Kent*, and Carnabii in *Lancashire*! Nothing more childish could be imagined; for the Cantæ of Kent were a Belgic people; and the Carnabii of Lancashire a Cumraig, 200 miles distant from them, on the opposite shore of Britain. The Cantæ of Caledonia had the same name as those of Kent, another Gothic tribe; and from the same circumstances of their territories jutting out as a

^f Hist. of Moray, p. 5.

promontory ^s. The name of *Carnabii*, supposing it the same in Lancashire and Caithness, could never originate from both being of one nation. The *Carnabii* of Lancashire were Cumraig, and the Cumri had it is likely held the Cornabia in Scotland, and left a name to it, when the Piks drove them out. We find two other *Cars* among these Pikish tribes, the *Careni* and *Carnonacæ*. *Caer* is now Welch for a town, but how came the Welch by it? Is it not Gothic *Kior*, *Lucus*^h, a grove, because, as Cæsar tells, the Belgic fortified towns were made in groves? Is not what we idly term the Celtic a mere repository of old Gothic words, which the Celts adopted like cast cloaths, and retain because they make no progress in ideas, or in society? If *Car* be Celtic, how came so many *Cars* among the Scythic nations? We find the *Carini*, a people bearing the identic name of a Pikish tribe, in that part of ancient Germany which is now Pomerania, as Cluverius shews: or close adjoining to the tract marked in the Dissertation annexed, as that by which the Peukini proceeded into Scandinavia. There was a *Carrodunum* on the Tyras; and another on the Vistula. A *Caravacium* in Cisalpine Gaul. *Carbilesi* and *Carbiletæ*, two nations of Thrace. *Cardia*, a town of Thrace. *Carelia* is now a province of Livonia. *Carentia* a town of Pomerania. The *Carians* were of Scythic origin. *Carinianum*, a town of Cisalpine Gaul. *Carniola*, and *Carinthia*, provinces of Pannonia. *Carmania* was a country of the Asiatic Scythians. The *Carni*, a people of Noricum. The *Carpiani*, a Scythic people, between the rivers Tyras and Hypanis. *Carrabia*, a town of Pieria. *Cartemund*, a town on the north of Zeeland in Denmark. A hundred other instances might be

^s *Kant*, old German, a promontory, or head-land. See Wachter. *Kanton*, a shore, a region, a province. Id.

^h Glossar. ad Orkneyinga Saga.

given ; but these suffice : and of these the Carini, Carbilesi, Carbiletæ, Carians, Carmani, Carni, Carpiani, were nations of Scythic origin. Richard says that as *traditions* bore, the Cantæ and Carnabii formed an alliance in the time of Ostorius, and fled to Caledonia from the Roman yoke. What traditions could reach Richard's time concerning this event, it is impossible to conceive ; and i will venture to say there could be none ; but that the similarity of names led him to this conjecture ; and he pretended traditions, forsooth, to strengthen it. Ostorius was here in the time of Claudius, when the Roman arms had not reached so far north as the Carnabii ; nor, if so remarkable an event had taken place, could it have escaped the notice of Tacitus, who, in the twelfth book of his Annals, relates the actions of Ostorius, and his conquest of Caractacus, at due length. This tale therefore wants all probability ; and even wants possibility, when we consider that the Cantæ were 200 miles from the Carnabii, the former in present Kent, and the later in Lancashire ; the former a Belgic people, the later a Cumraig ; that is as different as Welch from English. Each of these nations must have had a fleet to transport themselves ; while we find no mention in the ancient writers of any British nation having a fleet. But it is needless to insist longer in confuting this dream of a writer of the Fourteenth century, who pretends traditions of matters that happened in the First ! What the real traditions concerning British affairs were, we may judge from the frantic pages of Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth.

This large nation of the Cornavii had *Οὐρεδρον ἀκρον*, *Vervedrum promontorium*, Dunfbay Head : *Ταρvidουμ, η δὲ Ορκας ἀκρα*, *Tarvidum vel Orcas promontorium*, Dunnet head ; and the river *Ναυαος*, *Navaus*, or Naver, from which the name Cor-

navii in all likelihood sprungⁱ. The north-west extremity of Scotland, or Cape Wrath and it's neighbourhood, seems to have been unknown to the Romans.

9. The KAPHNOI, *Careni*, falsely called *Catini* by Richard, were on the west of present Ross-shire. Among them was that fine bay Ουολζας κόλπος, *Volfas Sinus*, now Loch Broom.

10. The KAPNONAKAI, *Carnonacæ*, were in the south-west of Ross-shire; and the mouth of the river Ιτυς, *Itys*, was in their country.

11. The KPEONEΣ, *Creones*, were on the west of Inverness shire.

12. The KEPΩNEΣ, *Kerones*, were on the north of Argyleshire; and in their country was the mouth of the river Λολγος, *Longus*, now Loch Linnhe, or Linny. Such are the Pikish tribes, as given by Ptolemy.

It is well known that this geographer commits a prodigious mistake with regard to the position of present Scotland, making^k it tend quite to the east, instead of running strait to the north, as it does: so that the Mull of Galloway is, by his description, the most northern point of Scotland; and Dunnet head, opposite to the Orkneys, the most eastern. This mistake is radical, and runs thro his whole description of Caledonia, affecting all the longitudes and latitudes he lays down. Mr. Whitaker dreams of an astronomical observation, taken at Inverness, for which he, in his usual way, quotes Ptolemy, who says nothing of the matter. Had such an observation been taken, it would have rectified this part of Ptolemy's work at once. But, as before observed, it is wonderful that we have any ancient geography at all; but not so that what we have is full of errors. Ptolemy's geography of Germany and Gaul has great mistakes; tho not so absolutely

ⁱ So Sir James Dalrymple thinks in his remarks on Camden's account of Scotland, p. 195.

^k The famous Roger Bacon in his geography long since blamed Ptolemy for this prodigious error.

radical as that respecting Scotland. To Ptolemy these remote regions were Japans, and Americas; and, as we are daily rectifying errors in our geography of distant regions, it would be a miracle indeed if the ancients, who wanted all our instruments and skill, had not fallen into errors. Ptolemy's descriptions of Scotland and Ireland were certainly like our descriptions of Japan, China, Kamchatka, &c. derived from merchants and travellers; and the countries being seldom visited, many mistakes would of course creep in.

In Ptolemy's geography of Scotland, the *Οκεανος Γερμανικος*, German Ocean, washes it's east side, in which opposite *Taixalium promontorium*, lye the *Σαξονων Νησοι τρεις*, or Three Iles of the Saxons; which Claudian, as above mentioned, confounded with the Orkneys, tho they were on the coast of present Jutland. The *Ορκαδες*, or Orkneys, are rightly placed to the north of Scotland, in the *Οκεανος Δευκαληδονιος*, or Deucalionian ocean, which Ptolemy tells us elsewhere was the same with the Sarmatic, or Baltic, the east part of which lay on the north of the Sarmatæ. In this Ocean above the Orkneys, Ptolemy places Thule, a mere visionary country, which vanished and withdrew to the north, as discovery advanced. Ireland, Shetland, Scandinavia, and perhaps Iceland, were respectively called Thule at different times. To the west of Scotland Ptolemy rightly places the Hebud Iles; *Εβουδαι*, *Ebuda*, or Lewis; *Εβουδαι μεσαιη*, *Ebuda major*, or Skey; *Μαλεος*, *Maleus*, or Mull; and *Επιδιον*, *Epidium*, or Jura and Ila, which Ptolemy, not knowing the narrow strait between them, thought but one ile: and *Ρικιναι*, *Ricina*, or Rachlin, on the north of Ireland. To the south of these he places *Μοναιδαι*, *Monæda*, or the Ile of Maun. All these lye in the *Οκεανος Ιουερνικος*, *Oceanus Hibernicus*, or Irish Ocean. Richard in one of his dreams has ignorantly placed the *Oceanus Deucalionius* on the west of Scotland,

land, not knowing that Ptolemy, lib. VII. had expressly called it the same with the *Oceanus Sarmaticus*, or Baltic; which lyes to the north, and not to the west of Scotland: and no one will prefer the error of a blundering monk of the Fourteenth century, to Ptolemy's positive authority. The seas and iles around Caledonia are all right in Ptolemy's account: his sole error lyes in the position of the country itself.

CHAPTER VII.

Pikish kingdom.

ONE of the greatest philosophers, and wisest men, whom modern times have produced, has enquired into the reason why mankind are so fond of falsehood, as generally to prefer it to truth. He justly observes that this is owing to the greater decoration, the meretricious ornaments, which falsehood ever bears; while truth, simple and plain, has no charms for the general eye. Truth, he says, is like open day-light, which does not show the masques and mummeries of the world, in so gaudy a trim as the candle-light of falsehood^a. In another place he most justly remarks that, 'there is in human nature generally more of the fool, than of the wise: and therefore those faculties, by which the foolish part of mens minds is taken, is the most potent.' Indeed this weakness is common to the wisest of us: and thence it is, that owing to our natural love of falsehood, all human history is justly thought, by many thinking men, to contain an infinitely greater number of fables, than of truth. *L'Histoire n'est qu'une fable convenue*, says Fontenelle. Men are hard as marble to truth; but soft as wax to every impression of falsehood.

Now, in all philosophy, there cannot be a more infallible axiom, than this, that WHENEVER ANY FALSEHOOD IS RECEIVED AS TRUTH, THE OPPOSITE TRUTH MUST OF ABSOLUTE NECESSITY PASS FOR

^a Lord Bacon, *Essays*, I. *On Truth*.

FALSEHOOD. Thus the spherical figure of the earth; the Copernican system; the plurality of worlds; were all regarded as quite false, till certified beyond a doubt; and then the opposite opinions became quite false. And, in history, so long as the voyage of Francus into France, and that of Brutus into Britain, were received as truths, the real truth was esteemed complete falsehood.

What France was two centuries ago, in regard to it's antiquities; and England was one century ago; such is Scotland now: lost in fable; and regarding the truth as falsehood. No childish fiction can be more absolutely shewn to be false, than the succession of kings of the Scots, from Fergus I. more than 200 years before Christ, to Fergus II. 503 after him. It will afterward be demonstrated, as far as historic demonstration can go, that the Old Scots, or Dalriads, far from being conquerors of the Piks in 843, were themselves subdued by the Piks in 739, according to the Annals of Tighernac and Ulster, the most authentic Irish documents; and which certainly favour the Dalriads more than the Piks, as the former were from Ireland. That the kingdom of Dalriada, upon it's conquest by the Piks, in 739, vanishes from history, and dwindles into nullity; which could never have been the case, had it grown in power, so as in 843 to vanquish the Piks. That Kenneth, noted in our fables, as conqueror of the Piks, was real and immediate king of those very Piks, whom we dream that he conquered. That the modern names of Scots, and Scotland, unknown for the people and country of North Britain, till the year 1010, or 1020, did not arise at all from the Dalriads, or Old British Scots of Beda; who, on the contrary, had lost the name of Scots, for some centuries before; and were called *Gatheli*, and *Hibernenses*, as terms of special distinction, from the modern Scots, a name given to the
Piks

Piks by later Celtic writers, as being *Scythæ*, or *Goths*, as were also the *Old Scoti* of Ireland. That the cause of all this confusion in our history arises from Irish churchmen, being our only literati, and historians, in the Eleventh and Twelfth centuries, when this confusion begins to appear; and from other reasons after explained. That till Kenneth mounted the Pikish throne, the Dalriads were confined to Argyleshire; and did not reach over the other Highlands of Inverness and Ross-shires till centuries after; nor into Sutherland, till the Norwegians left that country. That they never, from their arrival, till this hour, exceeded 300,000; while the Piks, the real people of present Scotland, now amount to 1,000,000, and always were to the Dalriads as three to one. And that the line of Dalriadic princes, or Scottish Kings, as we dream, even from 503, to the time Kenneth came to the Pikish crown, in 843, is totally vague, and unsatisfactory, as might be expected in such a petty monarchy, or rather dukedom.

Yet so great is the propension of the generality to falsehood, that the people of Scotland plume and pique themselves upon childish fables concerning the Old Scots, or Dalriads, while the Pikish kingdom, so remarkable in the pages of Beda, almost passes for a dream! It was not till this century that the English, so superior to us in antiquaries, discovered that they had no concern with Brutus, and the Welch fables. The Welch are to the English what the Dalriads, or Highlanders, are to the people of North Britain: but with this prodigious difference, that the Welch were in possession of England before the ancestors of the present English; while the Dalriads did not arrive in North Britain till many centuries after the Piks, the real ancestors of the people. The change of the name Piks into that of Scots has occasioned deplorable confusion in our history. Yet it is in detecting and settling

settling such singular events that the abilities of an antiquary are chiefly to be exerted. These two words *Scots* and *Scotland* have hitherto totally ruined our history; but in time truth and good sense will prevail. To these terms is it owing that we of Scotland are to this day enemies of the *Piks*; and that our whole antiquists are propagating falsehood, in order to destroy the history of our ancestors!

I must confess with shame that these prejudices clung around me at first; and that it was some time before i could throw a candid eye upon the *Pikish* history. After i clearly saw that the *Piks* were the real ancestors of the present Scots, i looked upon the catalogues of *Pikish* kings given by Fordun, Winton, Lynch, and Innes, with a suspicious eye; and thought the account of Old Scottish kings better authenticated. As i went deeper into the subject, i saw more and more uncertainty attending the list of Old Scottish kings, even from 503 to 843; and new circumstances to certify the series of *Pikish* monarchs. Upon a careful perusal of many ancient historians of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, i saw no better evidences of their old monarchs preceding the Tenth century than of our *Pikish* kings. At last i began to ask myself seriously by what unaccountable prejudice it came to pass that i looked upon the *Pikish* series with quite another eye, than upon those of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, which are no better authenticated? If any instance had occurred, or could possibly occur, of four different lists of kings being all forged, and yet agreeing with Beda, the Irish and Welch Annals, nay in one instance with a German annalist? If Scaliger, Petavius, or other chronologists, had better authority for many lists of kings, given by them from one single writer, and universally received by the learned, than we for the series of *Pikish* monarchs? How it could come to pass that the list of petty
kings

kings of Dalriada could be preserved, and that of the monarchs of all North Britain perish, while the Old Scots were not Christians, even in Ireland, till 432, and the Southern Piks were converted, as Beda shews, about 412; so that the advantage of the light of Christianity was on the Pikish side? What four forgers could arise, so skilful as to follow exactly Beda's account of the Pikish elective succession, that it was in the female, and not in the male line? To answer these questions, and others of the same tendency, was to me utterly impossible, so i willingly dismissed my prejudices; and reposed my mind on the truth, that we have as complete evidence of our Pikish kings, of the kings of all Scotland, from the Fifth to the Ninth century, as human history affords in such cases: and that the series from the First century to the Fifth is equal, as that from the Fifth to the Ninth is superior, to those of Denmark, Sweden, or Norway, during that whole period of the eight first centuries. In short it was discovered that the only cause why the Pikish series has been neglected by our historians, falsely so called; and, of course, by our people in general; was the grand axiom above mentioned, **WHENEVER ANY FALSEHOOD IS RECEIVED AS TRUTH, THE OPPOSITE TRUTH MUST OF ABSOLUTE NECESSITY PASS FOR FALSEHOOD.** The Old Scotish series, and the whole childish history of the Old Scots, are as arrant falsehoods as ever folly propagated, and ignorance believed; and when these were received as truth, the Pikish series, and the real and solid history of the Piks, to be found in the Roman and other grave writers, of absolute necessity passed for falsehoods.

The reasons why the Scotish fables prevailed over the Pikish history it is easy to offer. Innes has shewn that, down to the year 1291, the Pikish series was carefully preserved, and given by our chroniclers; who rightly commenced the Dalriadic series only at 503; and restrained their power to Dalriada,

Dalriada, or Argyle, till 843, when, by their accounts, they ascended the Pikiſh throne. In 1291¹³⁹¹ the grand diſpute with Edward I. of England aroſe; and the Highland bards and genealogiſts having, with their uſual idiotiſm and venality, flattered their chiefs and diſtrict ſo far at the expence of all truth, as to begin, in the dark ignorance of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to aſſert that their own Dalriadic race had come to the Pikiſh throne by conqueſt; nay that the Dalriads had vanquiſhed the Piks ſeven times in a day, and afterward devoured the whole nation at an entertainment^b; incidents certainly not true, and beginning now to be diſcredited, even in Scotland; the nominal Scots were, by the frenzy of theſe poor ſenachies, brought to a ſad dilemma. For the Engliſh having no idea what the extirpation of a people could mean, and being mere ſtrangers to the bloody lunacy of Highland bards had, inſtead of extirpating the Britons in a dream, with their uſual good ſenſe, availed themſelves of theſe very Britons to advance their claim of great antiquity, in their poſſeſſion of this iſland. Edward commenced with Brutus; and claimed by ſucceſſion of the Engliſh to the Welch line. This was ſenſe, and policy, for that age: but there is a quality called folly, which is thought to be directly oppoſite to ſenſe. The idiotiſm of the Highland bards had annihilated the Piks, ſo that the nominal Scots had no claim of ſucceſſion. Their only claim was that of extirpation; a claim ſo truly Celtic, that it could not have entered a cold

^b Convocatos itaque, tanquam ad convivium, magnates Pictorum, captata crapulæ opportunitate, clavorum extractione quos tenebant tabulata in bancorum concavitate, mira decipula, poplitenus comiter et improvise lapſos, ſtatim trucidaverunt. Sicque de duobis populis gens bellicoſior totaliter evanuit.—So Giraldus Camb. the father of the lye, founded on a ſimilar tale of Hengiſt and the Britons. ‘Septies una die congregitur,’ ſays Fordun. Lyars are often detected by falling into the *impoſſible*, for a knave is always a fool.

Gothic head. ‘Extirpation!’ would the Pope and Cardinals have said, ‘there is no such word in human history, ancient or modern. To extirpate the people, among whom an idea of such brutal madness could arise, would be an office of humanity.’ To veil therefore this unheard-of claim, the history of the Piks was totally sunk; and the Scots were asserted to have been possessors of the country, by their name of Scots, from the fifth century before Christ. Hence sprung the utter ruin of the history of Scotland. And to the brutal frenzy of the Highland bards and senachies are we indebted for it. Had the smallest ray of common sense glanced across their deceased minds, they must have seen that on the Pikish history alone did the whole honour of their line stand: and that their silly antiquities were but as ivy round the Pikish column, which, if the column fell, would fall with it. The manifesto of the Scottish lords to the Pope, in 1291, is well known to be the sole basis of our fabulous history: and from 1291 to this hour, being Five Centuries, has our ancient history remained a Celtic dream, to the laughter and astonishment of all Europe. For every foreigner of the least learning, knowing that the Caledonians and Piks are all one people^c; and that the Scots were unknown to the Romans, till the fourth century, and even then only known in Ireland^d; the whole ancient history of Scotland, as it stands, being directly opposite to the Roman accounts, justly passes for a childish and ignorant fiction. Such are the fruits of folly, and falsehood; while had the Highland bards and senachies preserved, and sedulously cultivated, the Pikish history, and been even content with asserting that

^c ‘Les Caledoniens ne sont point a distinguer des Picti,’ says D’Anville Geogr. Anc. Abr. Tome I. p. 110. So also Cellarius Geogr. Ant. nay, Buchanan *Caledonii . . . planissime Picti fuerunt.* lib. I.

^d D’Anville, Schœpflin, &c. &c. See Part V. ch. 4.

the Dalriadic, or Old Scottish line came by inheritance to the Píkish kingdom; these Scottish lords themselves, in fact all Píks, as three quarters of the people were and are, would have plumed themselves upon the Píkish history; and might, from the Irish annals, have shewn, if they pleased, that the monarchy was older than Brutus; and from Beda, that the Píks possessed their part of Britain, as early as the Welch did theirs. If the Scottish line came to the succession so late as 843, the line then on the throne of England came in so late as 1154, for the house of Plantagenet then ascended the English throne, by the same right as some writers say the Scottish race ascended the Píkish, namely, female inheritance. But the falsehoods of the Scottish manifesto served not one purpose that the truth would not have served in a far higher degree. Indeed, it was only one word which caused all this falsehood and frenzy. Had the old name of the country, Píkland, been retained, the madness of the Highland bards would never have been infectious. If William the Conqueror had changed the name of England to Normandy, not all the superior clearness of English history could have prevented shocking mistakes.

Setting this weakness entirely aside, it is certain that three quarters of the present Scots are Píks; and that the only history of Scotland is that of Píkland. The slightest enquiry into the subject convinced me, that to write our history, as done for these five centuries, by arranging it under the line of Scottish princes, falsely so called, is as absurd, as it would be to write that of England under the succession of kings of Wales. Winton indeed saw this so early as 1410; and has given our history under the Píkish sovereigns. The Píkish kings were the kings of North Britain. The Old Scottish kings were the princes of Argyle, till 843, when Kenneth ascended the Píkish

Pikish throne. Such being the case, the plan of constructing our history, which first occurred to me, was to give no series of monarchs whatever till 843, but from the Roman writers, Beda, Irish Annals, &c. to give every circumstance that could be recovered. As i have no particular affection for kings, the want of a series of them gave me no concern; tho the history would, in this case, have had an aspect not so complete, as that of other European kingdoms. But upon full examination of the subject it was clearly seen that the series of Pikish kings was better authenticated, than those of the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish sovereigns of the time; as might naturally be expected in a country which became Christian in the fifth and sixth centuries, while Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, were not so till the tenth; and had no writers till the Eleventh, while Scotland had Irish writers, Cuminus and Adomnan, in the seventh, beside it's constant intercourse with the learned countries of England and Ireland. It was also seen that the series of Danish kings was contained in old catalogues exactly similar to those of our Pikish monarchs; and which it was usual to keep in old calendars, and mass-books. Had the Pikish series perished, it would have been indeed a miracle; but that it is preserved and is confirmed by the collateral evidences of Cuminus, Adomnan, Beda, the Irish annalists, and others, is no matter of wonder. Soon after Fordun's book appeared in print, 1684, Sir George Mackenzie's mad visions, about the antiquity of the Scottish line, raised a singular party heat in Scotland, that, like a furnace, burned the most solid proofs of truth to ashes. At the time of the Union, some hot English writers moved questions concerning the independency of Scotland; and tho all men of sense and science in the later country began to open their eyes to the falsehood of our history, so clearly evinced by Usher, Bishop Lloyd,

Lloyd, and Stillingfleet, yet that the country had always been independent, was a certain truth, (now universally allowed by English historians): but this point being of supreme delicacy and importance, there was great hazard in changing the grounds of our history at that time. And as Atwood, and other writers against the independency of Scotland, had availed themselves of charters, since demonstrated by Rymer and others to be palpable forgeries; the Scottish writers had a political right, in a political question, to use their own old forgeries on the other extreme. This ferment was not forgotten, when Innes's valuable Essay on our old history appeared in 1729. That work contained such proofs, as ought instantly to have turned the current of our history: but his own gross errors, concerning the Piks, whom with Camden and Lloyd he thought Welch Britons, rendered the accuracy of his other reasons suspicious to men of reading, who knew this to be a new and futile opinion, directly opposite to all ancient accounts. Innes being also a papist and violent Jacobite, his work became on these accounts little acceptable, and almost neglected. Our old history since that time has only fallen into the weak and ignorant discussion of a Maitland, and a Guthrie; but even they begin to shew faint gleams of common sense. So late indeed as 1759, Goodal, a hot-brained bigot, wished to reduce all our history to it's old barbarism and ignorance, by his superficial introduction to Fordun; a piece which would have disgraced a crazy monk of the twelfth century, and in which all historic evidence is attempted to be melted down in the aquafortis of distempered zeal. The two Macphersons, considering themselves of the old Highland race, have opened their mouths, and, like senachies as they are, swallowed up the Piks, and their history at one mouthful: not by annihilating the nation, for that would not do in
the

the present century, but (what is far worse, and yet more cruel) by converting the Piks into Celts, and denying all the Pikish history; as it is indeed the grand characteristic of the Celts to put falsehood as truth, and truth as falsehood^c.

But, ever since Innes published the two old Pikish Chronicles, all men of sense and science in Scotland have seen that upon them, and their collateral proofs, the whole series of the kings of North Britain preceding 843 stands. The people of Scotland, seeing the gross folly and falsehood of our antiquists, have been content to stand aloof, and laugh, being sick of the old nonsense; while no writer has arisen willing to undergo the vast toil of fixing our antiquities upon a firm basis. Our men of talents have never been antiquaries; and such a line of dunces have discussed our anti-

^c Dr. Macpherson attempts to shew the names of Pikish kings Celtic; and instances the following; *Cineoch*, or *Kenneth*; *Oengus*, or *Angus*; *Ennegus*, or *Hungus*; *Elpin*, or *Alpin*; *Urgus*, or *Fergus*; *Canaul*, or *Conal*; *Donel*, or *Donald*: that is from 100 names, he can only pitch on seven or eight, and these he is forced to grant are after Christianity appeared in Pikland. But his error lyes in supposing the Dalriadic line Celtic, whereas it was Gothic; and the names are Gothic, as the reader will see after. Sir Robert Sibbald, in his History of Fife, has long ago observed that the names of Pikish kings are Gothic, not Irish; and Dr. Macpherson's sad shift of mangling seven names, even to make that number Irish, shews the truth; tho Dr. M. did not know it. Dr. M. also p. 42, 43, fights against the Pikish list preceding Brudi, 557; and says why receive it, when the same fragments, which preserve it, may also serve to establish the Scottish kings before Fergus, son of Erc? *The very reverse of this is the truth*; for those fragments, which preserve the Pikish list, have not one of these Scottish kings, but begin every one with Fergus, son of Erc, as the first Scottish king. This man was a doctor of divinity; and yet, if he had used the same freedom in a private business, which he has in history, he would have been set in the pillory. He also says, p. 16, that the Chronicles, published by Innes, only reconcile us to the loss of the rest: and it is no wonder that a true highlander should eagerly wish for the destruction of all our historic remains, in order to make Ossian and falsehood triumphant.

quities, that it is no wonder the study of them is disesteemed; and that a country, productive of able writers, is remarkable for that most contemptible of all kinds of ignorance, the ignorance of it's own history. The want of public libraries in Scotland is one great cause of this; and the institution of such would contribute more to the real learning of the country, than the foundation of universities: for those who have the use of libraries generally want inclination; and the grand point is to open up to inclination, which alone carries a man thro the toils of learning, easy means of indulgence.

Let us now proceed to a particular consideration of the catalogues we have of our Pikiſh monarchs. If the reader be accustomed to the Scottish history, as it ſtands preceding 843, he may, it is likely, receive the plain truths here preſented with a prejudiced and reluctant ear. Nothing is ſo mad as prejudice: and national prejudices, received for Five Centuries, form ſuch a confirmed frenzy, as perhaps other five centuries might, in ſome countries, be required to remove. But much may be truſted to that good ſenſe which is ſhewn by my countrymen in other affairs; and it is to that good ſenſe i appeal: and have ſo high an opinion of its general operation, even in ſo obſtinate a caſe as this, that i ſhould not be ſurprized to ſee even our ſhalloweſt writers following the true path, in a very few years. If the reader does not drop old prejudices, the caſe is deſperate; for God knows that, after all prejudices are put aſide, human reaſon is but a weak affair, and the love of truth no ſtrong motive with mankind. All that is requeſted of the reader is to follow Lord Bacon's counſel in ſearching after truth, 'to keep his mind in ſuſpence, till he reſolve:' and to take up this examination, as the author has done, as a queſtion concerning an ancient ſeries of kings of Macedon, Egypt, Aſſyria, or of Norway, Sweden,

Sweden, or Denmark. The Catalogues we have of our Pikish kings amount to no less than Five; and are as follow.

I. One given by Fordun, who wrote about 1385; and who does not mention whence he had it. This however agrees so well with Adomnan and Beda, that it would, if solitary, satisfy every unprejudiced mind: and Langbaine^f has thought this alone a sufficient foundation.

II. Winton's account of the Pikish kings, woven into his Chronicle, written about 1410.

III. A catalogue of the Pikish kings from Brudi, 557, published by Lynch, in his *Cambrensis Eversus*, from an ancient Irish translation of Nennius.

IV. A catalogue published by Innes, from the *Registrum Sancti Andreæ*, written 1251.

V. The most complete, important, and authentic, is the *CHRONICON REGUM PICTORUM*, published by Innes, from a MS. in the Colbertine, and now in the king of France's library, written in the Fourteenth century; but perhaps this part transcribed from one of the Ninth. This MS. was formerly in the collection of Cecil Lord Burreigh; is now in the French king's library, N^o 4126; and the reader will find it's contents in the Appendix.

All these catalogues differ in some few points; a clear proof that not one of them was transcribed from any of the others. These variations will be marked in the next chapter. The most remarkable is that I, II, and IV, cut off no less than FOURTEEN kings, between *Cruthen* the first, and *Gilgidi* the sixteenth, but whom they make the second. For this the Scottish transcribers had two reasons. 1. By thus reducing the number of Pikish kings, they abridged the date of the Pikish

^f Chron. Reg. Pict. in his *Elenchus Ant. Albion. una cum brevi Regum Pictorum Chronico*. Londini, 1673, 8vo.

monarchy, and made it posterior to the imaginary æra of the Scottish. 2. *Brudi Bout*, the 15th king, is said in the genuine Chronicle to have been the progenitor of thirty sovereigns of Ireland, which could only be by conquest; and the Irish origin of the Old Scots, being anciently as certain, and well known, as the light of day, the Scottish transcribers could not hear of this assertion, so dashed out this monarch and his predecessors, all save Cruthen, who was so well known as the first Piktish sovereign, that the Irish called the Piks *Cruthenich*, after his name; as they called the Dalreudini from Reuda, and applied many other names of kings to different tribes and nations. But that Number V. as it is the most full and complete in all respects, so is also the most authentic, Innes has shewn by these arguments.

I. The number of kings from Cruthen to Constantin, is by the most ancient Irish annals said to amount to Seventy. This is exactly the number in this invaluable record; while, by the list given by Fordun, they are but Fifty-eight; by Winton's account, which is quite imperfect, still fewer; and by the Register of St. Andrew's, only Fifty-two.

II. This Catalogue alone perfectly coincides with other authentic writers, while the others differ widely. Beda informs us, that the year of Christ 565 concurred with the Ninth year of Brudi, son of Meilochon, king of the Piks. Thence it follows that Brudi began his reign in the year 557; and this is a fixt and important epoch, to which all the other reigns may be referred.

I. All writers agree with Beda, that, in 685, Egfrid, king of Northumberland, was slain in battle by the Piks; and the ancient additions to Nennius say it was by Brudi, king of the Piks, that Egfrid was killed. Now by this Chronicle, the reign of Brudi, son of Bili, began 676, and ended 697. While, by Fordun's list, this king began

began to reign in 660, and reigned only eleven years, or till 671.

2. Ceolfrid, abbot of Wiremouth, wrote his famous letter about Easter, and the Tonfure, to Naitan, king of the Piks in 715. *Beda*. And this agrees perfectly with the chronology of this chronicle, according to which Naitan, son of Derili, or Nethan III. reigned from 712 till 727. While, by Fordun's catalogue, Naitan ended his reign in 703; and by the Register of St. Andrew's did not begin to reign till 747. So that they must be both wrong, and the Chronicle alone exact.

3. The death of Ungust, son of Vergust, king of the Piks, is fixt to the year 761, by a short Chronicle at the end of *Beda*, and by Roger Hoveden, and Simeon of Durham. Now this agrees exactly with this *Pikish Chronicle*; according to the supputation of which the death of Ungust happened just that year 761. While by Fordun's catalogue, it would have been 737; and by the Register of St. Andrew's, about the year 800.

4. Kineod, king of the Piks, gave a retreat in his kingdoms to Alcred, king of Northumberland, expelled from his throne in 774, according to Roger Hoveden, and Simeon of Durham. The very name of this Kineod is not to be found in any of the catalogues, save this, and the one given by Lynch. And in this Chronicle the death of Kineod is placed in 775, in which Roger and Simeon also agree.

These arguments, invincible as truth, must establish the great fidelity and authenticity of this Chronicle beyond all possibility of doubt, even with the most ignorant and prejudiced. Upon this Chronicle alone then must our series of *Pikish kings* be given; and all the rest be referred to it, as an infallible standard. This shall be done in the next chapter: but, before proceeding further, as, in so essential a point as the series of *Pikish monarchs*, the kings of North Britain, no shadow of doubt should be left, a few arguments shall be

offered for the authenticity of this series. No one, whose mind is not blinded by prejudice, can indeed question a series of monarchs established in general by no less than Five Chronicles, all bearing intrinsic marks that they are not copied from each other; nor from any forged archetype; but the following considerations are offered, which, it is hoped, may remove all prejudice. For to him, who looks into these monuments with the same freedom of mind that is applied to a list of Macedonian or Assyrian kings, the only wonder will be what distempered fancy could suggest a doubt on the occasion. That he who believes in the Scottish series will not credit the Pikiſh, that a believer in Offian will not credit authentic records, is indeed a natural consequence. For to weak minds, by a perversion of mental viſion, truth ſeems falſehood, and falſehood truth: and it is ever found that WHEN FALSEHOOD IS RECEIVED AS TRUTH, THE OPPOSITE TRUTH MUST OF ABSOLUTE NECESSITY PASS FOR FALSEHOOD.

1. The reaſon why the Pikiſh ſeries has been neglected, is the change of the name of Piks for that of Scots in the eleventh century; and the fables which our Irifh Chroniclers built upon that change. No Pik, or Lowlander, can be diſcovered as a writer, till two centuries after this, when the very name of Pik and Pikland was loſt in the profound gloom of that period; and in 1291 we find the name of Scots had ſo far operated, that the Piks, or Lowlanders, were fighting like bedlamites for the name of Old Scots, and gravely implying their own extirpation! Now to truſt theſe Celtic ſenachies with the real hiſtory of a country, would be as abſurd as to ſearch for the hiſtory of England in Geofrey of Monmouth. Truth and falſehood are totally heterogeneous; and as, in Geofrey of Monmouth, the real and ſolid hiſtory of Britain is quite ſunk, and a ſeries of Celtic lyes given in place of it, that, by utterly extinguifhing the hiſtory

history of the English, exalt the Welch, a poor confined race of conquered dastards, to the greatest glory, such was exactly the case with our history. Alas, such actually it is ! For let the reader suppose for a moment that Beda, and the Saxon Chronicle, (only two little books), had perished, as no other English historians arose till the Twelfth century, Geofrey of Monmouth would infallibly have been followed in all things, as he really was in most till this very century ; and the history of England, had it not been for Beda alone, from whom the early part of the Saxon Chronicle is taken, would at this hour have been like the history of Scotland, a mere Celtic dream. Pikland produced no Beda ; and of so vast importance is literature to a country, that one literary man may, like a petty deity, give a whole nation fame, and it's constant attendants, power and dignity. And the want of one literary man may sink a country in the eyes of all other nations ; and reduce it to almost a non-existence. What the English are to the Welch, such are the people of North Britain to the Highlanders. And as the real history of England has quite perished, if regarded only in the Welch accounts ; so has our history in the Highland visions.

2. Beda tells us, that the Pikish elective succession of kings was in the female line, from all antiquity, and retained to his time. This succession shall be further considered afterward ; but it suffices here to remark, that by this mode no son was successor to his father ; but the sister's son, daughter's son, or next heir chosen on the female side. Now the series of Pikish kings fully accords with this account. To Druft, son of Erp, succeeds Talorc, son of Aniel, &c. to Brudi, son of Bili, succeeds Tharan, son of Entifidich ; and to him Brudi, son of Derili, &c. To a free mind this minute, but important, coincidence must afford an infallible proof of veracity.

Q 4

3. The

3. The catalogue of Pikiſh monarchs, given by Lynch, from an old Irish MS. of Nennius, perfectly agrees with the moſt important Pikiſh Chronicle, Number V, ſave that in one or two places the number of years aſſigned to a reign vary. The other catalogues all differ ſo much among themſelves, as to prove beyond a doubt that they could not be copied from each other; nor from one archetype: and yet all agree ſo far as fully to confirm the veracity of the whole ſeries. Were any forgery in the caſe, this could never have happened but by ſpecial miracle; which it is humbly preſumed no one will ſuppoſe to have been wrought on this occaſion.

4. The *Pſaltair Caſhail*; a Metrical Chronicle of the kings of Dalriada, compoſed by the bard, or ſenachy of Malcolm III. 1056, as the concluſion bears; the *Leabbair Dromnaſnacla*; book of Lecan; and other Irish monuments; ALL agree that there were Seventy kings of the Piks preceding Conſtantine. The invaluable catalogue, Number V, gives juſt this number: and it alſo agrees in four grand epochs with Bede, Hoveden, Simeon of Durham, and other early Engliſh writers; proofs of authenticity, which, in any other caſe, would be held infallible: and which could not have happened in a forgery, ſave by a ſucceſſion of miracles. This piece muſt, if a forgery, have been compoſed either before, or after, the Twelfth century; when the greater number of the above authors appeared. If before, then they copied it; if after, the forger, who, as appears from his production, could hardly ſpell a Latin word, was converſant in all the Irish and Engliſh hiſtorians; and ſo ſkilful as to accommodate his whole production to them. That the Irish Anna-liſts, and Hoveden, and Simeon, followed this catalogue, and accommodated their narration, and dates to it, in events of which no veſtige is to be found in it, the moſt overheated imagination

tion will never conceive. And that a forger should arise in the Fourteenth century, who had carefully studied unique Irish MSS, Beda, Simeon of Durham, and Hoveden, and with an art, which has all the simplicity of truth, had adapted his whole series to these writers; nay to Four other Pikish catalogues; is yet more impossible than the former. But no man, whose prejudices have not quite extinguished his rationality, can suppose either of these cases. And the point comes at once to this issue. Either this Pikish Chronicle is a forgery, and it's coincidences with the best and most authentic writers, are miracles: or it is most true and authentic; and it's coincidences with such writers are natural, necessary, and unavoidable. Let the reader chuse; after taking this certain truth along with him, that all historic forgeries, yet discovered, have violated chronology, and clashed with authentic authors; and that if this forgery alone had none of these marks, it would be a miracle; but that it alone confirms, and is confirmed by all authentic authors, whose subject interferes, is something more miraculous than a miracle. If a foreigner happens to look into this work, he may with reason think meanly of the author's judgement, for insisting on a matter which would appear so clear at first in the history of Denmark, Germany, Italy, Spain, France, or any country where ancient history is cultivated: but he will please to reflect, that in Scotland ancient history is lost by the prejudices, falsehood, ignorance, and indolent superficiality, of our writers. And that with us the whole power of reasoning must be employed to establish truth, which, in learned and unprejudiced countries, establishes itself.

5. We have FIVE Catalogues of Pikish kings, ALL, tho different, confirming each other. Scaliger, Petavius, and others of the greatest learning and most severe judgement, have, in many cases, given a series of ancient kings, from only *one* list; and

and that series has yet been universally received, and passes every where current as undoubted Historic Truth. In the name of common sense, is one single list, given by one single author, who in some instances wrote a thousand, or fifteen hundred years, after the series closed, to be preferred to Five several lists, all confirming each other, and confirmed by authentic ancient authors; and written within four and five hundred years after the series closed, nay according to all appearance transcribed from originals, written when the series existed? For tho the Piks used no letters, yet they had Welch and Irish churchmen among them, from the Fifth century, who did use letters.

6. We must deny all historic evidence, if we deny the Piks to be Goths from Scandinavia. Now many of the names of Pikish kings are the very same found in Runic monuments, and may be all traced in the Gothic, as I have especially traced all their epithets in that language; for which see next chapter. This adds great authenticity to the *CHRONICON PICTORUM*.

7. Tho the Danes and Swedes had no letters till the Tenth century, for the ridiculous antiquity assigned to the Runic monuments with inscriptions is now dispelled^g, yet all allow the list of Danish and Swedish kings to be authentic from the Sixth century. How were they preserved? By songs and tales; by historic bards, and genealogists. That historic songs were common among the German Goths, is clear from Tacitus^h. From such songs did Saxo Grammaticus compose his

^g Dissert. de orig. Run. in Collect. Diss. de Ant. Sueciæ in Bibl. Regia. Runic letters were in common use in Scandinavia, so late as the 15th century. Venantius Fortunatus, about 530, knew them in Gaul, whence they passed to Germany, but apparently did not reach Scandinavia till the Ninth century, at the soonest.

^h Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est &c. Tacit. Germ.

history; and he produces them constantly as vouchers. But they are mingled with fiction, and Saxo's history of Hamlet immortalised by Shakspere, and which by Saxo's account happened before our æra, is palpably taken from a ballad, written not above fifty years before Saxo; for it mentions a wood between Scotland and England; and there was a sea till after 1010, when the name of Scotland was first given to North Britain. Saxo indeed, in another place, following a real old ballad, calls present Scotland *Petia*, or *Petland*ⁱ. The danger therefore was that historic songs were liable to be confounded with romantic ballads, as Saxo has done always. The true series of kings was that preserved by the genealogists, who at coronations, and other solemn events, repeated the series in barren verse, which only bore the names and years of the reign. These historic lists are easily known from this peculiarity, and their having no ornaments nor incidents whatever, as shall be more fully mentioned presently. They were in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, when learning appeared in the northern kingdoms, as it then began to revive in others, translated into Latin; or Latin catalogues made from them. These Latin catalogues, which in the Danish history exactly resemble the Scottish, have been carefully collected, and esteemed, as they are, the sole foundations of the real history of the kingdoms. The latest historians follow them only; and reject the romances of Saxo, and others. Pikland was a kingdom at least as powerful as ancient Denmark; and inhabited by the very same people. The same manners must have prevailed; and the list of kings must have been constantly repeated and preserved. But the Dalriadic bards came in time to be preferred by our princes, as their speech was

ⁱ Lib. IX. p. 171, edit. Steph. '*Scotiæ ac Petiæ*,' that is Ireland and Pikland. He is speaking of Regnar Lodbrog, about 830.

a written one, and more polished than the Pikish, an unwritten tongue : but these bards, accustomed only to the Dalriadic series, would continue to repeat it ; as we find the bard of Malcolm III. do in the poem of this very kind, which is extant. And this bard contents himself with barely mentioning that Seventy Pikish kings had reigned over Pikland, from Cathluan, an epithetic name which the Irish writers give to Cruthen^k, the founder of the Pikish monarchy, to Constantin. At the coronation of Alexander III. 1249, we find all mention of the Pikish kings dropt ; for a highlander on that occasion repeated the famous genealogy of that monarch in prose, which is preserved by Diceto, Fordun, and others : in which he is traced in the Dalriadic line of kings. Thus were the highland senachies, a set of the most ignorant and crazy strollers that ever disgraced a country, totally to bury our genuine history ; and lay the foundation of that Celtic edifice of falsehood and nonsense, which we call the ancient history of Scotland. Utter falsehood was received as truth ; and the truth of consequence began to pass for falsehood. But as the Danes in last century believed in Saxo, whom they had credited for Five Centuries, but now universally allow five or six short lists of their old monarchs, exactly resembling those of our Pikish kings, and but lately recovered, like these, from old manuscripts, to be the sole foundation of their genuine history, such will be our case. And if a few Goodals in Scotland, and Lyschanders in Denmark, rise to oppose forgery to truth, they will soon sink into utter contempt ; for tho mankind are prone to falsehood, yet in all history truth has always prevailed in the end. Nor is it to be supposed that Scotland alone

^k So the Greeks, as Herodotus says, called the Candaules of the Lydians Myrsilus.

will

will ever deny to found it's real history upon that broad and solid basis of Gothic sense, and sobriety of mind, upon which that of other European kingdoms stands; or be content along with the Welch and old Irish, instead of real antiquities, to hold out to the laughter and derision of Europe a romance of Celtic nonsense. Men who foster such prejudices, are the bitterest enemies of their country; for they keep it's history out of that of Europe: and no foreigner has meddled with our ancient history, or ever introduced it into universal history, or indeed ever mentioned it but with scorn. Hence the respect due to the nation is violated; and it's fame and honour destroyed in the eyes of other nations.

8. The importance of the Pikish monarchy, whose kings are never mentioned by Beda, a contemporary writer, but with some epithet of great power¹, and which was the largest in Britain, for it existed during the Heptarchic Times, may warrant us to conclude that it would have been indeed miraculous, if we had not even a list of it's kings. We have lists of those of every heptarchic kingdom, nay of the petty kingdom of Dalriada: we have lists of the kings of Ireland, of Denmark, of Norway, nay of the judges of Iceland, and of the Orkney, and Ferroe isles. Was Pikland alone, a kingdom in the heart of these countries, specially marked for oblivion by nature? What lunacy of prejudice can infer that lists of the petty kings of the old Scots in Dalriada, are infallibly true; and those of the monarchs of North Britain, found in the very same MSS, and supported by English and Irish authorities (which the former contradict), are false? What amulet, what magic charm, is there in the names of Scot and

¹ Regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon Rege potentissimo.
III. 4. Domino excellentissimo, et gloriosissimo regi, Naitano.
V. 22.

Scotland, that should lead ignorant and superficial minds to take truth for falsehood, and falsehood for truth? Because falsehood has remained for five centuries, is it less false than at first?

9. The best catalogue of our Pikiſh kings was found in a manuſcript which had belonged to Lord Burghley, and which, as it chiefly relates to Scotiſh affairs, had in all appearance been brought from Scotland. As it was written about the year 1350^m, after the expeditions of Edward I. it ſeems uncertain how it paſſed into England. The Register of St. Andrew's, in which another catalogue was found, ends 1251. Fordun's catalogue of Pikiſh kings differs from both theſe, and could not be copied from either. Winton's differs from all the three; and is not copied from the Register of St. Andrew's, as Innes ſays, but was apparently taken from a MS. of the monastery in Lochleven, of which Winton was Prior; for Maul of Melgum, in his inaccurate hiſtory of the Piks, ſays he had his account of the Pikiſh kings, from MSS. formerly belonging to St. Andrews, and Lochleven. Theſe MSS. like ſome others which totally aboliſhed the Scotiſh antiquity, and eſtabliſhed that of the Piks, are ſuſpected to have been wilfully deſtroyed by frantic zeal for the Scotiſh *name*. Now all theſe Chronicles muſt have been neceſſarily tranſcribed from ancient liſts; for after the name of Scotland was given to the country, about 1010, the Pikiſh name gradually vaniſhed. In 1138, at the War of the Standard, we find the laſt mention of the Piks in hiſtory; and the name was then confined to the people of Galloway, who, till that century, had been independant Piks under their own princes, the lords of Galloway, and thus had eſcaped the denomination of Scots then given to the other Piks. After 1291 no nominal

^m See it's contents in the Appendix.

Scotishman would have fought to honour the Piks, tho his real ancestors, at the expence of the Scots his name-fathers: far less have forged chronicles for that purpose. If these catalogues were forged, it must have been in the Eleventh or Twelfth century, before the Pikish name was lost in the Scotish. And they could only be forged by Piks, who gloried in the name. Now let the reader conceive, if he can, four such skilful forgers to arise among the Piks, an illiterate people, as to compose these four catalogues, differing in themselves, and yet agreeing so far, as, with all the simplicity of truth, to establish each other: and the best of them wholly confirmed by the English and Irish ancient authors. St. Andrew's and Lochleven were founded and protected by Pikish kings; it was therefore most natural that they should cherish the memory of their benefactors; and the finding catalogues of these kings, at these places, is a confirmation of their truth, at the same time that the Register of St. Andrew's, being written after the name of Scots had prevailed, we find the catalogue mutilated, and the victory of the Scots over the Piks asserted; a further confirmation of it's truth to every unprejudiced mind. The book in which the real ancient Chronicle of the Piks, confirmed by the old English and Irish writers, as above shewn, is preserved, i suspect to have belonged to some religious house in Galloway, where the Pikish name remained in full vigour in 1138, and to all appearance long after. And that this chronicle in particular is no forgery, has been fully shewn above; not to mention that the intrinsic evidence is very strong, it's simplicity being extreme. Nay this very catalogue must have been transcribed by some nominal Scotishman, for in another place of the MS. he asserts the extermination of the Piks, by the Scots, and has a declamation against the sins of the Pikish nation, which brought them to this utter destruction.

tion. Hence it is clear that it was not written by a nominal Pik; but transcribed from an older copy, like the other pieces in that collection, by some nominal Scotishman: and no Scotishman would forge a series of kings in which a Pikish conquest of Ireland was asserted; and such great antiquity given to the Piks above the Scots.

10. The Southern Piks between the Forth and the Grampian hills, or of present Fife, Stirling, Dumbarton, Perth, Angus, and Mearns, by far the most populous tract of Pikland, were converted to Christianity, by St. Ninian, about 412, as Beda shews. In 565 the Northern Piks were converted, as the same writer, Cuminus, Adomnan, and others, testify. The Christianity of the Piks seems indeed to have been dubious, and precarious; as that of the Scandinavians was for centuries after their conversion, tho so late as the Tenth century. For there is not one Pikish saint, or churchman of any kind, on record, while Dalriada, Ireland, Wales, and England, were swarming with them. The saints of England were indeed chiefly Welch and Irish, a race to whose understandings the corrupt Christianity of the dark ages was peculiarly adapted, and who carried fanaticism to such extravagance as to pass for the most holy and learned men that ever existed. Nor is it matter of wonder that when frenzy was religion, and folly was learning, the Celts were the most religious and learned people in the world. A consideration which escapes those who reflect not that the learning then in vogue was absolute nonsense; and affect to wonder that the aboriginal Irish, then so famous for learning, have not produced one learned man since real learning revived. But tho we have innumerable lives of Irish and Welch saints, who lived in England; yet we have none of any who lived in Pikland, for Ninian and Columba were only visitors. And tho we have English saints; yet not one Pikish saint is known.

Had

Had any such arisen, they would never have wanted fame ; for the Irish, Welch, or English, writers would certainly have preserved it. Had Christianity flourished in Pikland, it would certainly have introduced letters, as it did into every other country. Yet, while the Saxons, Welch, and Irish, wrote their own language, there seems every reason to doubt if the Pikish was ever a written language till the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries, when the name of Piks had vanished. However there were certainly Irish and Welch churchmen allowed to settle in Pikland, from the Fifth century downward. The church of Abernethy was founded about the year 600, by Garnat IV. or by Nethan II. kings of the Piks. Abernethy is south of the Grampian hills ; and of course among these Piks, who were converted by Ninian. To the north of these hills there is no evidence of any religious foundation whatever, till after the Ninth century. About 700, Brudi, son of Derili, founded religious houses at Culrofs ; and in Saint Serf's ile Lochleven, if we believe Winton. Dunkeld was founded by Constantin, about 800. The story of St. Regulus is fabulous ; and St. Andrew's was founded by Ungust, about 825. In short, the Four places of religion, *Abernethy*, which Innes rightly puts as the most ancient, *Lochleven*, *Dunkeld*, and *St. Andrew's*, were the only places in Pikland where any chronicle, or catalogue of the kings could be kept. For till after the Pikish line is said to have failed, 843, there was not another religious house in the whole kingdom. There was a Chronicle of Abernethyⁿ, which is unfortunately lost. But Winton has copied his list from a catalogue kept at Lochleven ; and the Register of St. Andrew's has preserved another. Tho Lochleven being near St. Andrew's,

ⁿ Fordun IV. 12. quotes it once for the foundation of Abernethy, by Garnat IV. son of Domelch.

and the monastery there immediately subject to the canons of that see, these two last lists have been mutilated by mutual connivance, in order to bring down the commencement of the Pikiſh monarchy to a later period than the viſionary date of the Scotiſh. The Register of St. Andrew's quotes the ancient books of the ſee, which related to the Pikiſh period, by the title of *LIBRI PICTORUM*; and produces a Latin charter of Unguſt II. from theſe *libri Pictorum*°. An old deſcription of Scotland, written, it is ſuppoſed, by Giraldus Cambrenſis, in the twelfth century, alſo refers to *PIKISH ANNALS*ᵑ. From theſe conſiderations it follows, that as the Piks had religious houſes among them, from the Seventh century, and books concerning their affairs were extant in the Twelfth, the memory of reigns and events muſt have been kept among them; and the poor preſervation of the names of their kings is ſo much a matter of courſe, that it would have been truly extraordinary, if it had not happened, while the liſts of Daniſh Norwegian and Swediſh kings from the Sixth century are admitted; tho theſe nations had not Chriſtianity, nor religious houſes, till the Tenth century.

II. For the kings of the Saxon heptarchies we have only one authority older than the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, the Saxon Chronicle; and, as it is by no means full, we freely truſt authors of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth centuries, in any further intelligence they give. Our lateſt Pikiſh Chronicle is from a manuſcript of the beginning of the Fourteenth century; and ſuppoſing, what will appear an impoſſibility to any one who looks into it, that it was compoſed at the time of the Manuſcript's being written, it

° Sibbald's Hiſt. of Fife: 'in veteribus Pictorum libris ſcripta reperimus.'

ᵑ Apud Innes: 'in geſtis et annalibus antiquis Scotorum et Pictorum.'

is impossible, for any cold and candid mind, to conceive why less credit should be given to it concerning early transactions, than is given to other monuments of that age concerning such transactions.

12. To conclude these considerations, it may be safely said that he, who denies the authority of our Five lists of Pikish kings, may, with equal reason, deny all historic authority; or believe, and reject, at pleasure, as his own caprice shall dictate. For it will to every free mind appear much more rational to credit Five different pieces, containing barely events, so universally marked and known, as the names of a succession of kings, with the number of years they reigned; and all written in the country in which they reigned, probably from more ancient monuments composed during their reigns, but at any rate drawn up within four centuries after this series closed; than to lend faith to the early history of Greece, or Rome. For in the last instances we credit writers, who lived five or six centuries after the events they relate, for minute relations of these events; tho they happened in a period when there were none to record them. In the former we only credit the universally known and marked circumstances of the names of kings, and years of their reign, the surest and most infallible features of history: and the greater part of the series belongs to a period when Christianity prevailed in the country, and there were men who used letters to record it. In the early history of Greece and Rome we have no collateral authorities. In the Pikish series we have the strongest collateral authorities, of authentic writers, of surrounding nations. In the former we generally trust to one writer for minute events. In the later we trust Five, for the most notorious events in history.

13. This volume was written, and the Pikish chronology digested, before i happened to peruse

a translation of the Annals of Ulster; which, with those of Tighernac and Innisfallen, form the real ancient history of Ireland after St. Patrick's time 432; and are as free from fable as the Saxon Chronicle, or any genuine annals digested in the driest manner can be. The reader may believe that it was with great pleasure I observed not only the names and dates, but many actions of the Pikiſh kings preserved in theſe Annals, from the time of Brudi 557, to that of Kenneth 843, in as exact correſpondence with the Pikiſh Chronicle as poſſible: and that not even the ſlighteſt incoherence, or contradiction, occurred thro the whole. In theſe Annals the ancient matters, as appears from repeated quotations, are from Tighernac who wrote in the year 1088; and Ware's account of Iriſh hiſtory is derived almoſt wholly from them. They are alſo conſonant with the Saxon Chronicle, and old Engliſh hiſtories, as well as laterly with the Icelandic, and Daniſh, as to Scandinavian affairs in Ireland. This additional and ultimate proof regards the names, dates, and actions, of about thirty Pikiſh monarchs: and being written in a neighbouring country, and interwoven with the hiſtory of that country, muſt convince even the moſt prejudiced of the veracity, and authenticity, of our Pikiſh hiſtory.

Having thus far combated the irrational prejudices, entertained by the ſuperficial ignorance of ſome of my countrymen, againſt authentic monuments of our real anceſtors, let us proceed briefly to conſider: I. The Nature of the Pikiſh ſucceſſion. II. The manner in which hiſtoric liſts of kings have been preſerved by tradition. III. The plan upon which the chronology of our Pikiſh monarchs is to be adjusted.

§ I. *The Nature of the Pikiſh ſucceſſion.* It is a ſtriking peculiarity, in the Pikiſh ſeries, that the ſon of a king never appears as king; ſo that in the whole liſt, till juſt at the cloſe, not one king
is

is seen, whose father ever held the sceptre. The kingdom, like those of Sweden and Denmark, was elective; but the kings were chosen out of a peculiar and numerous race of nobles; who all deriving their genealogy from ancient monarchs, were called REGALIS PROSAPIA, OR THE ROYAL RACE. Jornandes informs us of similar races among the Ostrogoths, or Eastern Getæ; and Visigoths, or Western Getæ. The election, as in other Gothic kingdoms, must have rested with the people who in Caledonia had such sway that Dio⁹ says, the government was chiefly democratic. As for men being delivered over, like sheep on an estate, from one lord to his heir, tho useful in great and refined monarchies, such an idea does not even occur to a warlike people. Among the Piks he of the royal race, who was strong, valiant, and wise, would be chosen; but when two candidates of equal worth appeared, and the balance was doubtful, he was chosen who, descending of the royal race, by the female line, was thought to have a surer claim to royal blood, than him who descended by the male line. Of this rule of elective succession, Beda thus instructs us: *ut, ubi res veniret in dubium, magis de feminea regum prosapia, quam de masculina, regem sibi ELIGERENT: quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum*^r. Of the number of the Royal Race we may judge from the charter of Ungust II. published by Sibbald in his account of Fife, where no less than Twelve Witnesses are given; all sons of different fathers; with this addition, *Isti testes ex REGALI PROSAPIA geniti sunt*, ‘All these witnesses are born of the ROYAL RACE.’

⁹ Δημοκρατούνται τε ως πληθεις. Dio lib. 76. de Caledoniis loquens.

^r The Saxon translation by Alfred is, *Mid thy Peohlar wif næfdon bædon him fram Scottum. Tha gewafedon hi thære arednessse, ant him wif sealdon, that thær seo wise on tæweon cyme, that hi thone ma of tham wif cynne him cyning CURAN, thonne of tham wæpned cynne.*

Among the the Marcomanni and Quadi the royal races were the Marobodui and Tudri: *Tac.* Among the Lombards Paulus Diaconus mentions two dynasties, or races, the Gunginci, and Lithingi. Jornandes mentions the Afdingi among the Vandals. The Persians, says Strabo, were ruled by a race^s: and the royal race, or relations of the king, were very numerous^s. Pontanus says the ancient Danes elected their kings from the royal family; and the succession of son to father, given by Snorro, is a romantic error founded on the ideas of the later scalds.

Till the Fifth Century the Pikiſh Monarchy was confined to the Hebrides, where Solinus found it in the Third, as after ſtated. From that paſſage of Solinus it is eaſy to account for the number of the Royal Race; for the king was not allowed to marry, but took any woman he choſe, and diſmiſſed her when he choſe. Tho this cuſtom muſt have fallen when Chriſtianity was introduced, yet the rights of the Royal Race were, as appears from Beda, ſedulouſly preſerved. This plurality of wives was merely an indulgence of the great, and did not extend to the people.

Arioviſtus, according to Cæſar^u, had two wives. Saxo repreſents Hamlet (king of Jutland, and not of Denmark, as he ſays) as having ſeveral^v. Harald Harfagre had ſo many that, when he married Ragnhildis, he put away nine^w. Tacitus^x obſerves that the nobles, among the Germans,

^s βασιλευσονται δε ὑπο των απο γενους. Lib. XV.

^t Curtius, lib. III. 'Exiguo intervallo quos Cognatos Regis appellant, Decem et Quinque Millia Hominum' Vide etiam Justin. lib. X. Diodor. Sic. lib. XVII. Arrian. lib. III. But it appears to have been laterly granted as a title of honour. Eſdras III. c. 3. 4. Joſeph. XI. 4. Arrian. VI.

^u De Bell. Gall. I. 59.

^v Saxo IV. p. 59.

^w Snorro, Harfagre's Saga, c. 21.

^x Singulis uxoribus contenti ſunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui, non libidine, ſed ob nobilitatem, plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Germ. c. 18.

were distinguished by having many wives. Justin and others say that before Cecrops marriage was unknown in Greece. Herodotus describes the Massagetæ, as Cæsar does the Britons. So late as the year 770 Charlemagne, tho already married, wedded Desiderata. Gregory of Tours observes, that kings Gontram, Caribert, Sigebert, Chilperic, had several wives. Herodotus says, that the Agathyrsi had wives in common. Walsingham, in his *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, tells us that the Danes had many wives; and used to turn out their sons to shift for themselves.

The above mode of elective succession must appear very singular to modern ideas. Yet in some ancient kingdoms, it is believed, similar institutes may be found. Montesquieu^y tells us from Du Halde, that it was regulated in some of the Chinese dynasties, that the brothers of the emperor might succeed; but that his sons should never succeed. This was to prevent the danger of minorities. According to the customs of Numidia, Delfacius, brother of Gela, succeeded to the kingdom; and not Masinissa his son. And, at this day, among the Arabians in Barbary, where every village has it's chief, according to that ancient custom, the uncle, or some other relation, is **CHOSEN**, but never the son. There are, says Montesquieu, states where the princely maintenance of the king's sons would be impossible to the people; and it may there be ordered that the sons of the king shall not succeed him, but those of his sister. There are also nations, adds he, where reasons of state, or some maxim of religion, demand that a certain family should always reign. Such is in India the jealousy of it's blood, and the fear of a defect in it's succession, that, to have always princes of the blood royal, the sons of the king's eldest sister are preferred. Some tribes of

^y *Esprit des Loix*, XXVI. 6.

North American savages also follow this plan; and give for reason, that *the female is the surest side*.

Let me add a few more instances of this practice. Polybius, lib. XII. tells us that the Locrians estimated nobility, not by the male, but by the female line. Nicolaus Damascus² says, that among the Lycians the daughters and not the sons inherited^a. A late author^b observes that, among the Natches on Mississippi, who believe their royal race children of the sun, the sister's son always succeeds: and that in Fouli, a negro kingdom of Africa, the female line always inherit the crown, there being no security in the male line, as the women are prone to gallantry. Voltaire^c remarks that in Cochin the king's son is not heir, but the sister's son; a practice also found in Guinea.

That the Pikiſh kingdom was ELECTIVE is clear from the above decisive paſſage of Beda, who was cotemporary with it, and lived on it's borders. That this was the plan of the other Gothic kingdoms is alſo well known. Tacitus ſays of the Germans, that they choſe their kings from the nobility of their race^d: and the higheſt race, that of royal progeny, muſt have been the moſt noble. M. Mallet informs us, that, in ancient Denmark and Sweden, the very ſame cuſtom prevailed; the kingdom was elective, but the people alſo choſe one of the royal blood, which they revered as ſprung from the gods. But about the year 900, we find the kings of Denmark, by a gradual increaſe of power, had influence enough to paſs the

² In excerpt. Vales. p. 516.

^a Sueno obſerves, p. 73, that among the old Danes daughters and ſons were equal heirs; but he gives a fabulous origin of the cuſtom.

^b Lord Kames, in his Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man.

^c Eſſai ſur l' Hiſt. Univ.

^d Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute ſumunt. Tacit. Germ.

kingdom to their own sons; for Gormo the Old then succeeded his father Horda-Cnut; as Harald Elatang succeeded his father Gormo: and this mode generally happened afterward. In Sweden also hereditary succession seems to have been as early allowed. Yet these kingdoms continued elective to last century, as is well known. The Runic characters were, it is thought, unknown in the Northern kingdoms till Christianity appeared there; and at any rate all allow that they were only used in inscriptions till that event; so that we have not one written monument of any kind till the eleventh century. Hence their history being confined to the song of the bard, and the old songs being constantly supplanted by new ones, the authors of which often accommodated old times to their own ideas, we know nothing certain concerning the old mode of elective succession to the throne. The names of the kings are preserved; but that they were sometimes sons of their predecessors we have no authority, except that of ignorant bards, who knew no manners, save those of their own times. Saxo's work, which is built on the songs of the bards, is now justly regarded as quite fabulous down to the Tenth century, when the real history of Denmark begins, as Mallet has justly observed.

The power of the Gothic sovereigns depended wholly on the will of the people in every clime. In Thrace, as in Pikland, we have examples of kings deposed^e: and in Scandinavia, tho the king was also chief priest, it was not uncommon that he should be sacrificed to the gods, as an atonement for the people^f. Even so late as the time of Canute the Great, kings were subject to public penance, if they offended; and that not imposed by ambitious priests, but established by equal

^e See the example of Scyles, Herodot. IV.

^f Loccen. *Antiq. Sueo Goth.* p. 15. and Snorro, *passim*.

laws.

laws^g. Schoening justly observes that the government, among the ancient Scandinavians, was at first Monarchico-democratic; but degenerated into Monarchico-aristocratic^h. The Scandinavian history abounds with examples of kings dethroned; and the Swedes at a late period told king Olaf Skotkonung, in the national council, that their ancestors in the council of Mul had ordered five tyrannic kings to be thrown into a well; and that they were ready to follow the precedent, if he gave occasionⁱ. Rembert, in the life of St. Amfgar, one of the oldest pieces of Scandinavian history, says that, among the Swedes, every public business depended upon the voice of the people, more than on the power of the king. In the assemblies the meanest peasant either sat, or was represented; and the king followed their instructions. Among the northern Germans, the Lugii, Suiones, Sitones, the kings had indeed more power, than among the southern, as we learn from Tacitus: a circumstance apparently owing to the wealth of individuals, and consequent aristocracy in the southern states, which circumscribed the regal power with perpetual rivalry; while in the northern the king had no rivals in wealth, or power, but, if a good monarch, was absolute in the united affection of his subjects; while, if bad, his power was annulled by universal hatred and contempt.

In Pikland, it is clear from the Chronicles, that there must have been a law, as in other countries above-mentioned, that the son should never succeed the father in the kingdom. We find brothers chosen to succeed brothers; but never sons to succeed fathers. A grand reason for this was, the superior estimation of the female line;

^g Kanuti Magni, Danicæ et Angliæ Regis, Leges Castrenses cap. X. apud Suenon. Stephanii, Soræ, 1642, 8vo.

^h Orat. Soræ, 1736, 4to.

ⁱ Ibid.

for uterine brothers were of all heirs the surest, as both sprang of one mother. Any other heir in the female line was more distant from the fountain of royal blood. Another reason was, that, for a son to succeed his father, would have been an usurpation of the rights of the other families of the Royal Race, who were all intitled to their turn of sovereignty, when next it by merit and by the female line. And another reason was, that the Piks living in constant war, and invasion of the Britons, they required to have always a sovereign leader of mature prudence, as well as valour; whereas, in almost every case, the son of a deceased king would be young and inexperienced.

Fordun^k has, with the consummate ignorance to be expected in a monk of the end of the fourteenth century, asserted, that the mode of *succession* among the old Scots and Piks was similar; namely, as he states, that if the son of the deceased king was young, his uncle or cousin succeeded; and the son came in on the death of such heir. He totally mistakes the case, for *election*, and not succession, was used in both nations. But the fact is, that the *succession*, as he calls it, among the old Scots, was wholly in the male line, as every one, the least versed in their history, must perceive at once: and tho, as Fordun states,

^k IV. 1. 'Quoniam et eis [Scotis] et Pictis, plerisque regnorum regibus etiam, et imperii quibusdam principibus, eadem succedendi lex erat; ut regis scilicet cujusque decedentis frater, aut filius fratris, si filio regis ætate fuerat ac habilitate regendi potior, quamvis gradu remotior, ipsum præcederet ad regendum.' But Mr. O'Flaherty and Mr. O'Conor shew, that the kings and chiefs of Ireland were elected by the people out of particular races. The difference between them and the Piks lay chiefly in this, that the former preferred the male, the later the female line. When the former was preferred, the election carries appearance of succession; for nothing but some defect, which might not occur in many ages, could set aside the male heir. So in Denmark and Sweden, tho elective kingdoms, down to last century, the son almost constantly succeeds the father.

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if the son was too young, his uncle, or cousin, was called to the throne, yet the son was never wholly set aside, as with the Píks, but succeeded in his turn. Thus when Fergus I. died, ~~530~~⁵⁰⁶, Domangard his son succeeded; whom followed Congal, son of Domangard, then Gauran, brother of Congal, then Conal, son of Congal, &c. &c. In Ireland this was also the exact case. And, so far was the female line from being preferred, that it was wholly cut out from the regal succession; as in other successions the law of gavelkind was universal, by which the sons shared equally, but the daughters were altogether thrown out¹. This was a natural consequence of the contempt which the Celts had for the fair sex^m, and still have. For being mere savages, but one degree above brutes, they remain still in much the same state of society as in the days of Julius Cæsar; and he who travels among the Scottish highlanders, the old Welch, or Wild Irish, may see at once the ancient and modern state of women among the Celts, when he beholds these savages stretched at their ease in their huts, and their poor women toiling, like beasts of burden, for their unmanly husbands.

Very different was the state of women among all the Gothic nations. The Goths, a wise, valiant, and generous race, almost adored their women; and endeavoured to compensate the delicate weakness, and numerous pains and infirmities of the sex, by tender attentions and cordial respect. Even among the Scythæ, or ear-

¹ Davis, O'Connor, &c.

^m Aristot. Polit. II. 2. The Samoieds are remarkable for the same contempt of their women, whom they even regard as impure; and treat their wives with the utmost tyranny and brutality. Tooke's Russia, III. 25. They are also, like the Celts, remarkable for attention to clans, or breeds, *ibid.* And so are the Greenlanders, according to Crantz, who represents them as being as full of genealogies, as the Celts of Wales, Ireland, or Scotland.

liest Goths, we find this original fountain of modern galantry. In Herodotus, Idanthyrfus, a king of the Scythæ, answers Darius, that he knows of no superiors, save Jove, his progenitor, and Histia, the queen of the Scythæ, his own wifeⁿ. The Vesigoths made daughters equal heirs with the sons. The Germans, as Tacitus^o informs us, regarded women even with adoration, and admitted them to sovereignty equally with the other sex. The Sitones, ancestors of the present Swedes, were in his time ruled by a woman. Mr. Mallet observes^p, ‘the northern nations did not so much consider the other sex, as made for pleasure, as to be their equals and companions, whose esteem, as valuable as their other favours, could only be obtained by constant attentions, by generous services, and by a proper exertion of virtue and courage.’ In the early state of society courage was a virtue of as great importance in the fair sex, as in the men; tho in refined society an extreme delicacy and modesty are most esteemed, and every thing manly or forward justly regarded as blameworthy. Objects of our tender respect, they must not violate their own modest character by any manly office; for, when they descend to such, we see them become our equals, and drop our adoration; a female ceasing to be a goddess as soon as she steps from the sanctuary of timid and retired modesty. Such was also the opinion of the Greeks and Romans, nations of Scythic or Gothic origin, as fully displayed in the dissertation annexed. In their early history we find the women bold as the men; but in their advanced society, a timid modesty was all in all. Yet their women were ever free as nature made them; and not slaves, as our superficial theorists dream. Among the early Goths,

ⁿ Herodot. IV. 127.^o Germania.^p Northern Ant. I. 314.

the women shared in the superlative courage of the men. Ancient writers testify, that the Scythian women used often to proceed to battle, with their husbands and brothers. Scandinavian tradition preserves the names of Vegbiorga, Hetha, Visna, Ladgertha, Hervora, and other warlike ladies^a. In Britain the name of Boadicea is illustrious. She was queen of the Iceni, of the Belgic or Gothic part of Britain.

Dr. Stuart observes that, among the Franks, as well as the Anglo-Saxons, the queens shared in the government; and, among the former, there is the example of a queen who received a national homage. *Greg. Tur.* lib. IV. Werburgh, queen of king Wightred, assisted at the Wittenagemot, or national council, held at Berghamsted. *Cbr. Sax.* p. 48. Malmbury, lib. II. mentions a parliament held by king Edgar, in which he was assisted by his mother Alfgina: and Canute is said, in a national assembly, to have acted by the advice of queen Emma, and the bishops and nobility of England. *Mat. West.* p. 423. When the crown fell to a prince in his minority, the queen-mother had the guardianship. Thus Fredegund, of Clotarius II. Brunehild, of Theodebert, and Theoderic; and Balthildis, of Clotarius III. Let me add, that the Sarmatæ^r were remarkable for devotion

^a Olaus Magnus. *Hervarar Saga*, &c. &c.

^r Nicol. Damascen. in *Valesii Excerpt.* p. 516. Damascen. de morib. gent. The Amazons are shewn to have been Sarmatæ by M. Freret, *Mém. des Insér.* tome xxi. but Herodotus says they married Scythæ; and learned the Scythic tongue, tho they spoke it ill. Mela l. 21. mentions the *Mæotici γυναικοκρατοῦμενοι*, or ruled by women. The Lycians were governed by women: *Heraclid. de Polit.* Nicol. Damasc. *ubi supra*. At Sparta women interfered much in the government. The Hurons, the most warlike of the Americans, are ruled by women: *Charlevoix*, Let. 18. It may move the reader's wonder that the most warlike nations should have this custom. Perhaps it may spring from their men disdaining all inferiority to each other; tho they find it necessary to have a ruler.
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devotion to their women ; and it is likely that the Peukini and Baſternæ, who peopled Scandinavia, might partly derive this practice from them, as they were the extreme Goths who bordered on the Sarmatæ.

This respectful attention of the Goths to their women muſt be regarded as one great cauſe of the attachment of the Piks, a Gothic people, to the female line. The ſucceſſion however did not run in this line : for, according to Beda, it was only preferred, *ubi res veniret in dubium*, when the matter was in doubt. But this *matter* was not the ſucceſſion, but the election ; as is clear from the context, and word, *eligerent*, ‘ ſhould ELECT,’ as above explained. They who dream of hereditary ſucceſſion of ſon to father among the Piks, only ſhew groſs ignorance of the barbarous Gothic governments. The Goths in Italy, France, Spain, nay England, ſoon adopted the refined idea of modern ſucceſſion. But it is in Germany and Scandinavia, and among the Eaſtern and Weſtern *Gætæ*, the ancient and rude ſettlements of the Goths, as was alſo Pikland, that we muſt look for the model of the Pikish monarchy ; and we will find it elective, as ſhewn by Beda, and the Pikish Chronicles. They elected the ableſt of the royal race ; but when doubt aroſe, from the equal abilities of the candidates, the moſt noble was choſen ; and this nobility was calculated by the female line. Some may incline to think that the above words of Beda, *ubi res veniret in dubium*, ‘ when the matter was in doubt,’ are ſuperfluous, and that the ſucceſſion was direct in the female line. But had this been the caſe, a child might have been king by indiſputable right ; and Beda is not ſpeaking of a ſucceſſion, but of an election,

We may therefore laugh at Tacitus, who affects to deſpiſe the Sitones, becauſe ruled by a woman. Theſe barbarians would have ſcorned the Romans, the ſlaves of an emperor.

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as is palpable from the context : and it is impossible, without wresting the passage, to give it any other interpretation than what is here shewn.

Before closing this consideration of the respect of the Piks for the female line, the following hints, collected by an ingenious writer^s, may be produced. Tacitus tells us that, among the Germans, ‘the sons of sisters were equally regarded by the uncle as by the father.’ Hence it is, says Montesquieu, that our earliest historians speak in such strong terms of the love of the kings of the Franks for the children of their sisters. John de Laet remarks of the Brasilians, that they call their uncles and aunts, *fathers* and *mothers* : and the same custom prevails among the North American Indians. Among the Hurons, says Charlevoix, with whom the dignity of chief is hereditary, the succession is continued thro the women ; so that, at the death of a prince, it is not his own but his sister’s son who succeeds ; and, in default of him, the nearest relation in the female line. The Ethiopians, says Damascenus, exhibit the greatest honour to their sisters ; and the kings deliver the succession not to their own sons, but those of their sisters. These facts shew the early importance of the sex ; and confirm the remark of Aristotle, that the Celts alone of all nations held their women in contempt. An exception which does them no honour ; for as, with beasts, the most valiant and generous, pay the greatest attention to their females, while the most stupid and cowardly maltreat them, so it is with men : and what a lion is to an ass, such is a Goth to a Celt.

§ II. *The manner in which historic lists of kings have been preserved by tradition.* The names of the whole Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian, kings preceding the Eleventh century, have been preserved by tradition only. This must also have been

^s Dr. Stuart, View of Society.

the case with the Pikish till the Fifth century, when Christianity was received in the south of Pikland; and perhaps later. A short disquisition into the method of this tradition may not therefore be unnecessary.

The scalds, or bards of the Scandinavian nations, are well known. These scalds were not only the poets, but the historians and genealogists of the time. Having judgment enough to perceive that, in matters of succession and genealogy, the plain truth was the only object, they composed historic and genealogic songs, devoid of all ornament, and only valuable from their veracity. Containing barely names, and years, a very short song commemorated the genealogy, or history, of many ages. The Chronicle of St Olaf^{*} says of a scald, *Oc taldi þan longfedga till Semingb*, 'And he computed the generations up to Seming.' And again, *I tui kvedi ero uptalde XXX langfedga Rognwalls*, 'In this song are enumerated the thirty generations of Rognwall.' Much about the historic poets may be found in the first volume of the History of Norway, by Torfæus, which for the sake of brevity shall not be here repeated. Snorro Sturleson tells us, in his preface, that Thiodolf, scald of Harald Harfagre, king of Norway in the Tenth century, wrote historic songs to a petty monarch, Rognvald, in which the names, actions, and sepulchres, of thirty of his ancestors were declared. And that Eyvind, in his songs to Earl Haquin, gave a series of his ancestors. Snorro chiefly follows Thiodolf; and says, "Therefore we, in composing our history, generally follow the thread of those things which are commemorated in these songs; because the poets themselves used to repeat them in presence of the kings, and of their sons." The scald was one of the king's chief officers, and always of his council; and his great

^{*} Apud. Loecen. Ant. Sueo Goth. p. 90.

employment was to compose the lives of kings, and histories of the kingdom. Mr. Mallet has justly observed that the preservation of genealogies was one great part of the scald's office. This method of composing history in verse was continued to late times. The most ancient work extant in the Swedish language, is an anonymous metrical chronicle written 1319. And our Winton wrote in the same manner about 1420.

But it was from the short historic song, repeated by the King's scald at coronations, that the most solemn and authentic evidence was derived. This song consisted merely of the names of the king's antecessors, woven into barren verse: and the grandeur of the occasion, and number of witnesses, made an high regard to veracity requisite. The King's scald was an envied office; and, had he made any slip, many of his brethren would have been happy to expose it, in hopes of supplanting him by superior skill. It may easily be conceived that the uncommon mode of determining the nobility of the kings among the Piks, would render the preservation of genealogies absolutely necessary.

The computation by generations is in fact the very basis of all barbaric history. Even the early history of Greece and Rome depended on them. Sir Isaac Newton has, in his Chronology, remarked that 'Pherecydes the Athenian, in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, or soon after, wrote of the antiquities, and ancient genealogies, of the Athenians, in Ten Books; and was one of the first European writers of this kind, and one of the best; whence he had the name of *Genealogus*; and by Dionysius Halicarnassensis is said to be second to none of the genealogers. Epimenides, not the philosopher but an historian, wrote also of the ancient genealogies.'

And as in the most early society genealogies are carefully preserved, so also the succession of kings.
For,

For, tho elective kings cannot be given in a genealogic series, yet their names are commemorated with equal ease. And the importance of the list, and it's solemn repetition upon great occasions, would naturally cause it to be preserved with the most sedulous attention.

§ III. *The Plan upon which the Chronology of our Pikish monarchs is to be adjusted.* This is easily done from a noted passage of Beda, who informs us that the year of Christ, 565, was the Ninth year of the reign of Brudi, son of Meilochon. His reign of course commenced in the year of Christ 557; and to this grand epoch all the other reigns can easily be referred, by means of their duration being marked in the catalogues. As for instance: Brudi began to reign 557 years before Christ; his prædecessor Galan reigned two years, and of course began 555: and Brudi reigning Thirty years, his successor Garnat began to reign in 587: and so on. The accession of Kenneth to the Pikish throne in 843; the death of Ungust in 761, the year of Drust in which St. Patrick went to Ireland, &c. are also epochs of the same use, had Beda lent no assistance.

By this calculation the year 412, about which time Ninian converted the Southern Piks, as appears also from Beda, just precedes the reign of Drust, the Thirty-seventh of the Pikish kings. Of course with his reign commences a new and luminous period, as the Irish and Welch churchmen who settled in Pikland used letters, and tradition is exchanged for historic authority. Now it is most remarkable, and must alone of itself afford conviction to every free mind of the veracity of our Pikish chronicles, that with this very Drust, under whom the light of Christianity appeared, ceases a fabulous circumstance of these chronicles, namely, the immoderate length of many of the reigns. For this Drust is said to have lived a

hundred years, and fought a hundred battles; which is only a barbaric phrase for living very long, and fighting a prodigious number of battles: but AFTER him no reign exceeds Thirty years. Whereas BEFORE him many of the reigns are fabulously long; owing to the natural uncertainty of tradition, and the wish of the scalds to increase the antiquity of the royalty. Thus Talorc, the immediate predecessor of this Druft, is marked to have reigned 75 years; and Garnat, predecessor of Talorc, 60. Nay, five of the others are put at 100 years each. But this fabulous length of the reigns totally vanishes when Christianity began.

In like manner the most ancient Persian kings have reigns of 800, or 1000 years^u. Nay Torfæus^v, in *reforming* the history of Denmark, is so foolish as to make Annius Grandævus live 210, and reign 190 years!

This grand and leading circumstance serves to divide the Píkish Series into two parts. The FIRST of which contains the kings prior to Druft, and Christianity: the SECOND, those of the following period.

The FIRST part of the Píkish series cannot be admitted to direct historic faith. For tho the epithets of the kings, and other minute, but important, marks, serve to establish it's general authenticity; yet, as it stands on scaldic tradition alone, it would be rash to give this part as historic truth. The length of the reigns is palpably fabulous; and history is so averse from fable, that it dreads the least connexion with it. But this part of the series stands on the same scaldic ground, and is equally authentic with the accounts of Danish, Norwegian, or Swedish monarchs, preceding the Tenth century. Of course it deserves attention; and if not fit for historic, is at

^u Richardson on East. Lit.

^v Series Reg. Dan. p. 233.

least

least proper for poetical authority. When our history becomes studied and understood, many future poets may use these old kings with good effect. It will presently be shewn that the Pikish kingdom was confined to the Hebud Iles till about the reign of Drust; if he indeed was not the monarch some of whose many battles established his authority over all the Piks. This part of the series therefore contains more properly the kings of the Hebud Isles, than of the Piks in general: but as the other Piks lived in democracy, as Dio shews, and this line of monarchs afterward extended it's power over them, it has also a claim to be regarded as belonging to the series of kings of Pikland. As the fabulous length of the reigns renders this part even unfit for the purposes of poetry, which loves verisimilitude, this may be easily amended in a veracious and mathematical manner. Sir Isaac Newton has justly observed that the number of years assigned to the Roman kings from Romulus to Tarquin, the last of them is most absurd; and finds, from the succession of all ancient and modern monarchies, that no series of princes reign at a medium above Eighteen years each. Hence he takes 125 years from the antiquity of Rome; and supposes it founded 625 years before Christ. Nothing is more just than this; and the calculation is as infallible as any in arithmetic, or geometry. But Sir Isaac calculates from civilized monarchies, as the Roman also was, when he allows so much as Eighteen years for a medium: and Mr. Richardson justly observes, that he assigns too great a length to reigns of kings for his rule to be universal. For the Caliphs, from the death of Mahomet to the sack of Bagdat, reign little more than ten years each: and, even in a settled and civilized kingdom, the Greek emperors, from Zeno to the taking of Constantinople, have only fifteen years each. Sir Isaac indeed observes him-

self that the successors of Alexander have but $15\frac{1}{2}$; and eighteen kings of Babylon only $11\frac{2}{3}$ years each. The longest is that of the kings of Judah, who have 22: but 16 is at any rate the medium, even in polished and settled kingdoms; and not 18, as Sir Isaac makes it. But in barbaric kingdoms the reigns are far more tumultuous and short. From 430 to 778, were no less than thirty kings of Ireland in succession reigning at a medium but Eleven years each. The heptarchic kings of England have little more; those of Northumbria in particular almost the same. And among the Piks, a yet more ferocious people, it is evident, from the part of the series after Druist, that the kings hardly reigned Eleven years each at a medium. There being also no reason to suppose that the early Pikish kings reigned longer than the others, it is matter of plain arithmetical calculation, to reduce the fabulous length of these reigns to verisimilitude. For if the last Forty kings fill 429 years, the first Thirty-six must fill 386. These 386 years, calculated back from 414, the beginning of Druist's reign, fix the reign of Cruthen, and commencement of the Pikish monarchy, to the Twenty-eighth year after Christ's birth. And, as the years of these first Thirty-six kings, as they stand, amount to no less than 1548, of which 386, the just space, is almost exactly a quarter, if we put down the reign of each king at one quarter of its pretended duration, we shall attain every degree of verisimilitude necessary for poetry, or perhaps attainable in such kind of history. This plan is accordingly followed in digesting the FIRST part of this series.

The SECOND part requires no assistance; being quite uniform, complete, and historic. The years of the reigns are taken ONLY from the invaluable Pikish Chronicle, No. V. which also agree with the Irish Nennius, save in one or two instances.

instances. Winton gives no years of reigns ; but only the names. The years in the two other monuments, Fordun, and the Register of St. Andrew's, are almost perpetually erroneous ; and contradicting cotemporary Irish and English authors, deserve no credit whatever. These two chronicles, being also mutilated, and perverted, by Scottish transcribers, only merit attention as collateral proofs of the Pikish series. The sole error in the number of years given by the Pikish Chronicle, No. V. belongs to Kiniod, son of Luthrin ; who, in the publication by Innes in his Appendix, has but xi years, while the Irish Nennius gives him xix. Innes also gives him 19 in his Series of Pikish kings, Vol. I. p. 134, without even hinting that the Chronicle bore xi ; tho he be most exact in all the others : which leads to a conclusion that xi. is a mere error of the press in Innes's Appendix, the last x of xix being omitted. That xix is the just number is undoubted from the whole chronicle, and it's collateral proofs ; but whether the x. be omitted by Innes's printer, by a transcriber, or in the original MS. it must equally be a bare omission, and a most pardonable one. For numbers, as all know, are very apt to be corrupted in old MSS. and that in so many numbers but one little x should slip out, is rather a miracle of accuracy, than matter of blame.

In spelling^w the names i have compared the Five catalogues, and taken that which seemed most uniform, and proper, sparing no pains to render the spelling, i have followed, the most neat, and fit, so that it might ever remain, and be generally followed, as it is humbly hoped it will be approved. These names being absolute Gothic, the genius of that language has been fol-

^w The names of English heptarchic kings are as variously spelled as the Pikish, hardly two old authors agreeing in orthography of names.

lowed : but the various old spellings carefully given, with the following initials for the sake of brevity, A. is the Pikish Chronicle, No. V ; B. The Register of St. Andrew's ; C. Winton ; D. Fordun ; E. The Irish Nennius ; of which the part published by Lynch only begins with Brudi 557.

CHAPTER VIII.

Catalogue of the Pikish kings.

THE Piks, proceeding from Scandinavia about 300 years before Christ, as above shewn, would, in their voyage toward North Britain, first arrive at the Orkneys, a barren and desert tract, which they would despise. That these iles were uninhabited about the year 240 after Christ, is mentioned by Solinus. And it seems that the Piks left no settlement there; but proceeded along the northern coast of Scotland; which finding bleak, mountainous, and forbidding, and probably at that time a continued forest of black pines, echoing to the northern breeze, they coasted along till they discovered the green vales of Ireland. These tempted their approach; but perceiving that fine island too large and populous for their armament, and the people prepared to withstand them, they stood over for the Hebud Iles, which from their comparative smallness gave room to hope for better success. Here they accordingly effected a settlement, that was in the course of a century or two to spread all over North Britain; the Cumri being driven before their arms, first from the Hebud iles, where names of places shew their ancient possessions: then from the northern and western parts, so lyable to attacks from these iles; and lastly from the east and south.

That

That this was the Pikiſh progreſs is clear from Beda and Nennius. The firſt of whom mentions their going firſt to Ireland, whence they ſtood over to the oppoſite tracts of Britain. Nennius ſays they firſt ſeized on the Orkneys; but Solinus ſhews that, if they did ſo, they ſoon abandoned them; and Nennius himſelf adds, that it was not from the Orkneys, but the neighbouring iſles, *ex inſulis affinitimis*, that they invaded and ſubdued the north of Britain. Theſe neighbouring iſles could only be the Hebud Iles; and Beda's relation of their paſſing from Ireland over to Britain fully confirms this. The uſual tract of the Norwegians afterward was quite ſimilar. They paſſed the Orkneys, and north of Scotland; and proceeded to Ireland, or the weſt of Scotland. The Orkneys were inhabited in the reign of Brudi, 565; for Adomnan mentions a regulus, or prince of the Orkneys, at the Court of Brudi. The Piks had, to all appearance, thought proper to ſeize and poſſeſs them about the fourth century; when the Roman arms confined them on the ſouth: and that the Norwegians, when they ſeized theſe iſles in the Ninth century, found them poſſeſſed by the Piks, ſhall be afterward ſhewn. But Solinus mentions them as deſert when he wrote, or about the year 240, while he deſcribes a kingdom in the Hebud Iles. All theſe circumſtances ſo exactly correſpond, that there is no room left to doubt, but that the Hebud Iles were the firſt poſſeſſions of the Piks, and thoſe from whence they ſubdued North Britain.

The Piks, like other colonies, and early ſocieties, would long be ſtrangers to kings. Divided into ſmall communities, as circumſtances ordered, they would only chuſe one leader in times of common danger. But in ſuch ſocieties, as not refined enough for regular and permanent republics, which depend on intricate laws and regulations; the kingly power always creeps in by degrees.

And

And it was most natural that this power should first be known to the first settlement, where the society would have first past thro the previous stages. Accordingly there is reason to believe, that the kingly name and power were known to the Piks of the Hebud Iles, four centuries before they extended over the rest. This appears from the series of Pikish monarchs, which goes back to Twenty-eight years after Christ; and from Solinus, who describes the Hebudian monarchy about 240; while it is clear from Tacitus, Dion, and Ammianus, that this monarchy extended not over the other Piks of Caledonia. Tacitus gives no hint of Caledonia's being under one monarch, tho so singular a circumstance could not have escaped him. Nay, he shews that it was not; for he mentions that it's states had formed an alliance for the common defence, and Galgacus was only the most noble, and able, of the leaders. Dion mentions that the states of Caledonia were chiefly democratical. Ammianus Marcellinus tells that so late as the year of Christ 368, the Piks were divided into two nations, the Dicaledones and Vecturiones; so that it seems reasonable to infer that these two nations had different governments. The former, or Dicaledones, were the Northern Piks, beyond the Grampian hills; who, having intimate and immediate connexion with the Hebud Iles, had, it is likely, before this acknowledged the authority of the ancient Hebudian Royal Race. The Vecturiones were still in all probability under democratic government. If conjecture may for once be allowed, where proof must ever be wanting, Drust who succeeded in 414 was the first sovereign of all the Piks. Certain it is, that in 565 we find Brudi king of all the Piks, without any hint of the monarchy being new: while in 368 it seems certain that the Piks had no universal king; so that the fifth century forms the medium. And Drust is mentioned as so great and warlike a prince,

prince, that he seems the most likely to have accomplished this extension of power. The Pikish Monarchy therefore commenced in the Hebud Iles, about 28 years after Christ. The Dicaledones, or Northern Piks, seem to have been wearied out with democratic dissention; and to have acknowledged the sovereignty of this ancient Royal Race, about 300 years after Christ. This accession of power seems to have enabled the monarch, after many conflicts, to extend his dominion over the Southern Piks about 430. And as this account alone can reconcile all authorities, it seems as true, as it is natural and easy.

Solinus, who wrote about the year 240, has given us curious information concerning the Hebudian monarchy. He says; 'There are five Hebudes; their inhabitants are ignorant of grain. They live solely on fish, and milk. One king commands all; for these isles are divided from each other, only by narrow channels. The king has nothing of his own; but all his effects belong to all. He is bound to equity by certain laws. And, lest avarice should turn him from the truth, he learns justice from poverty; having nothing of his own, but being nourished by the public. No wife is given to him, but he takes any woman he likes in her turn; whence neither the wish nor hope of children is allowed to him. Next are the Orkneys, in number thirty-three, desert of men, and having no woods. A few reedy plants are found; the rest is rock, and barren sand^a.'

^a Solin. Polyh. c. 25. Inde excipiunt Hebudes insulæ, quinque numero: quarum incolæ nesciunt fruges, piscibus tantum et lacte vivunt. Rex unus est universis: nam quotquot sunt omnes angusta interluvie dividuntur. Rex nihil suum habet; omnia universorum. Ad æquitatem certis legibus stringitur: ac, ne avaritia divertat a vero, discit paupertate justitiam; utpote cui nihil sit rei familiaris, verum alitur e publico. Nulla illi datur femina propria: sed per vicissitudines, in quamcunque commotus fuerit, usurariam sumit. Unde ei nec votum, nec spes conceditur liberorum.

The five Hebudes here mentioned are doubtless the five Ebudæ of Richard, namely, *Lewis, Skey, North Vist, South Vist, and Col with Tiray*. Ptolemy also calls them Εβουδαι, *Ebudæ*. That this very curious description belongs to the Pikish monarchy in the Hebudes, there is little room to doubt. The Old Scots, or Irish, had no settlement in these iles till four or five centuries after this; and in 565 we find Hyona, or Icolmhill, belonged to the Piks, for the Pikish king gave it to Columba. If an ile so far south, and so near Ireland, was then in the Pikish possession, much more must the Ebudæ have been. That the Piks seized on the Hebud Iles, at the very first, is clear from Beda and Nennius, as above stated. The description indeed is quite foreign to the manners of the Welch, or the Irish; and can only quadrate with the Pikish monarchy. The part concerning the king's want of peculiar children, is most singular; and quite coincides with the Pikish succession, in which no son of a king ever ascends the throne.

It may not be improper to give some hints concerning the Pikish names. Many end in *ust*; and if the reader peruses the Dissertation annexed he will find that the Persians were the oldest Scythæ, or Goths, from whom the rest sprung, and it is remarkable that different Persian names have the same close, as *Zerdust*, the Persian name of Zoroaster. Nay *Drust*, a common Pikish name, is also Persian, and implies *Sincerus*, 'Sincere:' according to Hyde, *Religio Vet. Pers.* p. 383. edit. 1760. where the reader will find many instances of Teutonic words in the Persian, p. 439. *Ke* or *Key*, a Pikish king's name, is also Persian; *Key Gustasp*, Hystaspes the Illustrious. *Ibid.* and Jones's *Nadir Schah*. Many begin in *Ver*, as the Scandinavian Gothic reads; or *Wer*, as the German and Persian (for the Persians have W, which the Turks and Tartars have not, but pronounce it V.).

This

This is also Gothic. *Vergobret*, the name of a magistrate among the German Gauls, as Cæsar tells, is pure German. *Verg*, or *Vergen*, to render justice. *Obret*, or *Obrest*, first, or chief. Pelloutier. Junii Batavia, p. 669. *Wer*, a man, Franc. & Anglo-Belg. whence *Weregild*, satisfaction for killing a man. Vercingetorix, a German Gaul, in Cæsar. Veremund, a Gothic king of Spain. Vermund, of Denmark. *Brudi* may be from *brudeln*, Old Germ. *æstuar*e, to rage; Wachter. In Scandinavia the name was sometimes spelt *Prudi*, and sometimes *Brudi*, Worm. Mon. Dan. where p. 198, *Brudu* is the genitive. Scandinavian names in *i* are common, Frothi, Helghi, Frokni, Uffi, &c. Sueno Hist. Dan. Vali Sterki, *Islands Landnama*, p. 71. *Bili* is sometimes spelt *Vile*, as Edda fab. 3. sometimes *Bele*, as a king's name in Differt. de Ant. Sueciæ (De Vikingis). In Scandinavian, are also *Tungu* (or *Tenegus*). Torf. Norv. *Hængus* ib. and *Ungu*, a Danish king, Langebek I. 15. (Ungust.). *Galgacus* is apparently from *Galgian*, collocare, ponere, or *Galisan*, colligere, congregare, Lye Dict. Gothico Sax. both alluding to generalship. *Uven*, or *Owen*, one of the last Pikiish kings, is also Gothic. *Owen* a Swedish name, Stiernhelm. Anti-Cluver. p. 44. *Owen*, inimicus, Rudbeck. Atl. Vol. I. *Owen Giedde*, Danish, Pontopp. Gesta Dan. Vol. I. Old Pikiish names are also found in Scotland at a late æra. Fordun mentions a *Crutbe*, or Cruthen, *de Angus*: *Gartnach Comes*, or Earl Garnat, is witness to a charter of Alex. I. Spottiswood Monast. Scot. MS. Vol. I.

Add from the dictionaries of Wachter, Ihre, Lye, the following hints. *Kineoch*, or *Kenneth*, may be from *Kéne*, *acer*, and *od*, *præstans*. W. Garnat from *Gare*, Old English *Tare*, *promptus*. L. or *Gard*, *regnum*: I. *Alpin* from *Alp*, *dæmon*: the Scandinavian is *Alfwin*: *Olafi cum Alfvinio vel Alpino athleta duellum*: Gunlaug's Saga, p. 92. *Cruthen* from *Cruth*, a croud, *Tkaran* from *Tbor*, *fortis*.

*fortis. Domel, or Domnel, or Donel, from Doma, judicare. Bliki from Bliā, intentis oculis aspicere. Uscombuts from Uskott, selectus. Brudi from Brod, pronounce Bruid, cuspis, aculeus. Ungust from Ung, juvenis: gunst, gratia, favor. Some ending in bust, from busa, cum impetu ferri, irruere. Talorc from Tall, pinus. In Gothic, as in Latin, C is always pronounced K, whatever vowel follows; and the E at the end is always sounded, as in all languages but the English, which, like the Attic, is fond of abbreviation: thus Brude is sounded Brudé; except only where many consonants meet, when the final *e* is sometimes sounded euphonia causa, before the last consonant, as Cruthne, Cruthen; hafne, hafen, &c. To assist the pronunciation K is generally used for C, as it is in the Scandinavian: and *i* for *e* at the end, according to the same idiom.*

Let us now proceed to the Catalogue of Pikish monarchs digested in chronological succession.

Part I. POETICAL. *From the foundation of the monarchy, about the year of Christ 28, till the reign of Drust the Great, 414.*

1. CRUTHEN son of Kinni, A. C. 28. (*Cruidne fil. Cinge, A. Crutheus fil. Kinne, B. Cruthne, C. Cruythne, D. the n and ne in Gothic are, after a consonant, pronounced en as rasn, rasen, &c. so in English le; able, abel, &c.*) first king of the Piks, reigned 25 years. From him the Irish, who delighted in patronymics, called the Piks Cruitnich. So the Romans call the Parthians Arfacidæ from Arfaces. Kinni is redd as in the Pikish Chronicle Cinge (pronounce Kinghé) assimilates with Cinge-torix a Belgic, or German name in Cæsar, lib. V.

2. KIRCU, A. C. 53. This king, and the thirteen following, are only found in the Pikish Chronicle, No. V. the others being castrated by Scottish transcribers, in order to reduce the period

period of the Pikish monarchy, as before mentioned. Kircu, and his six successors, are called sons of Cruthen in the Pikish Chronicle, because they were his immediate descendants. He reigned 15 years.

3. FIDAICH, A. C. 68, reigned 10 years.

4. FORTREIM, A. C. 78, reigned 18 years.

5. FLOCLAID, A. C. 96, reigned 8 years.

6. GOT, A. C. 104, reigned 3 years. *Guta*, a man's name, Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 264. *Guth*, *bellum*: Lye. *Got*, good.

7. KE, A. C. 107, reigned 3 years. These short names are peculiarly ancient Gothic. *Ve* was the name of a brother of Odin. Edda. Fab. 3.

8. FIVAID, A. C. 110, reigned 6 years.

9. GEDEOL, *Gudach*, A. C. 116, reigned 20 years. *Gudach* is *godlike* from the Gothic *Guda*, *Dii*, the gods. See Lye Dict. Sax. Goth.

10. DENBACAN, A. C. 136, reigned 25 years ^b.

11. OLFINECTA, A. C. 161, reigned 15 years.

12. GUIDID, *Gaed-brecab*, A. C. 176, reigned 12 years. *Gaed* is *focius*; *bræcan*, *frangere*; Lye. *Bræcka*, *frangere*; *Ihre*: whence the epithet means either a breaker of friendships, or of conspiracies.

13. GESTGURTICH, A. C. 188, reigned 10 years.

14. WURGEST, A. C. 198, reigned 10 years. *Nornagest*, a man's name in Thorlac. Spec. Ant. Bor. *Gast* or *Gest*, *Sapiens*, Junii Bat. p. 182.

15. BRUDI I. *Bout*, A. C. 208, reigned 12 years. This is the first of the Brudis, variously spelled *Brudeus*, *Bridius*, &c. but Brudi is the real Gothic name, as appears from a Runic monument given by Wormius, Mon. Dan. p. 198. *Bout* is the

^b If we believe Irish history, the Pikish king about 137 assisted Tuathal Techtmur to recover his throne, which was usurped by Elim. Wynne's Hist. of Irel. p. 62. Vol. I. *wounded*,

wounded, (*Bott, ictus, Wachter.*) Under this king the Pikish Chronicle tells us that his descendants ruled in Ireland for the space of a hundred and fifty years. It mentions *thirty*, but gives the names of only *twenty-eight* in a most singular manner, the name of every second prince being barely that of his predecessor, with *ur* prefixed; thus, *Pant, Urpant; Mund, Urmund; &c.* If the author was a forger, he was certainly the most foolish that ever tried the trade; for this must, at first glance, appear to every eye an impossible absurdity. But the fact is, that this very part offers a very simple, but most strong, proof of the veracity of this Chronicle. *Ur*, in the Persian, Old Scythian, Gothic^c, implies *Illustrious, Chief, &c.* and was an epithet naturally given to kings. Our ignorant transcriber finding this epithet formally repeated to each name, by some solemnity used in the coronation song, or from some singular respect paid to this succession of kings, as possessors of a daring conquest in the midst of foes, was misled by it. Thus suppose an old list of these kings thus written: *Pant v. Urpant; Leo v. Urleo; Gant v. Urgant, &c. &c.* that is, *Pant vocatus Urpant, Leo vocatus Urleo, &c.* *Pant* called *Urpant*, or *Pant* called the *Illustrious Pant*; *Leo* called the *Illustrious Leo*; *Gant* the *Illustrious Gant*, &c. a list, from some special respect or solemnity, so ordered, might easily mislead an ignorant transcriber, who did not know that the *Ur* was only an epithet solemnly repeated with the name of each king. This idea

^c *Ur*: Gothi, Franci, et Alemanni, habent *Ur*; Saxones *Or*, significatus suos accepit partim ab *ar*, principium, &c. . . . *Ur*, Adverb. ordinis, significans principatum in existendo et sperando: inde *Urawesen*, *essentia primitiva*; *U bild*, *archetypus*, &c. *Ar* *O*, *Ur* principium, Græcis ἀρχή, Latin. *origo*. Wachter Gloss.—*Or*, *Ord*, Cimb. *dr*, et *Ardr*, initium, principium, origo, auctor. Lye iet Chaucer has twice *ord* and *end*, for beginning and end. But see Richardson, &c. as to the Persian.

is confirmed by the number of kings, which amounting to twenty-eight, by this mistaken reckoning, could not have reigned less than ten years each, at a medium, or 280 years; whereas the Fourteen, to which we reduce them, would, at the usual rate of the Pikish reigns, of about 11 years each, just fill 154 years, as 150 is the round number given in the Chronicle. That the Piks had a settlement in the north of Ireland, is clear from Adomnan, Jocelin, Usher, O'Connor, &c. and the following Fourteen kings, mentioned in this Chronicle, must have reigned there.

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>Pant.</i> | 8. <i>Fec.</i> |
| 2. <i>Leo.</i> | 9. <i>Ru.</i> |
| 3. <i>Gant.</i> | 10. <i>Gart.</i> |
| 4. <i>Guith.</i> | 11. <i>Kinit.</i> |
| 5. <i>Fekir.</i> | 12. <i>Inp.</i> |
| 6. <i>Cal.</i> | 13. <i>Grid.</i> |
| 7. <i>Cuit.</i> | 14. <i>Mund.</i> |

As they all descended from Brudi, they all bore his name, as the Arfacidæ of Persia, &c. &c. with the adjunct of *Ur*, or Illustrious: thus *Brudi Ur Pant*, *Brudi Ur Leo*, *Brudi Ur Gant*, &c. and so the Chronicle calls them, tho mislled by the *Ur*, as above stated. This Pikish monarchy in Ireland, tho it continued only 150 years, under the house of Brudi, yet lasted, under other kings, even till the conquest of Ireland by the Danes in the Ninth century; as appears from Tighernac, the Annals of Ulster, &c. Adomnan mentions a king of the Crutheni, or Piks in Ireland, called *Echuvslaid*, and mentions his flying in his chariot, from the battle of Ondemone in Ireland, fought about 570. Mr. O'Connor, in the map of Ireland prefixed to his Dissertations, places the Cruitnidi, or Piks, in the north of that island, and gives another settlement of them in Galway. He also tells us that he finds, from the old book of Glendalough, that there were some tribes of Cruitnidi in Ulster, and in Conaught. It is almost unnecessary

fary to add that this Pikish kingdom in Ireland must have been small; and the size of this kingdom may be guessed from this, that Ireland was in these early times divided into no less than Twenty-one such kingdoms. But of this kingdom in next chapter.

After Brudi I. the chief Scottish castration ceases; and most of the following kings are found in all the Chronicles. No doubt the nominal Scots, who knew the Irish origin of the real Scots, as well as we do the passage of the English to New England in America, could not bear that the Piks, their nominal enemies, but their real fathers, should boast of any conquest in Ireland; so the extension of the castration to Brudi I. was matter of course.

16. GILGIDI, A. C. 220, reigned 25 years. (*Gilgidi, A. Gedé, B. Gedé, C. Gbedé, D.*)

17. THARAN I. A. C. 245, reigned 25 years. (*Tharan, A. B. D. Caran, C.* The names in Winton [C.] are the most corrupt of all; the old $\mathfrak{T}$, T, he often reads $\mathfrak{G}$, G, or $\mathfrak{C}$, C, thus Galarg for Talarg, &c.)

18. MORLEO, A. C. 270, reigned 3 years. (*Morleo, A. rest wanting.*)

19. DEOKIL, *Lunon*, A. C. 273, reigned 10 years. (*Deocilunon, A. Duchil, B. C. D.*) This abridgement of the name shews *Lunon* to be an epithet. *Lun, egenus, poor. Lye. Lunnon, incertæ significationis vox, ap. Cædmon, 73. 10.*

20. KIMOIOD, son of Arcois, A. C. 283, reigned 2 years. (*Cimiod filius Arcois, A. wanting in the rest. Fordun has in his place Dinorthetify.*)

21. DEOÖRD, A. C. 285, reigned 12 years. (*Deoörd, A. Duordechel, B. Duordechal, D. Wergetel, C.*)

22. BLIKI, *Blitirth*, A. C. 297, reigned 1 year. (*Bliciblitirth, A. rest wanting.*) The epithet seems *Blitbeheort*, glad. Lye.

23. DECTOTERIC, A. C. 298, reigned 10 years. (*Deſtoteric frater Diu*, A. *Decotheth*, B. *Decothat*, C. *Decokbeth*, D.) This name, like the reſt, is quite Gothic, as Theoderic, &c.

24. USCONBUTS, A. C. 308, reigned 7 years. (*Uſconbutſ*, A. the others, omitting the firſt ſyllable, have *Combust*.)

25. CARVORST, A. C. 315, reigned 10 years. (*Carvorſt*, A. the reſt ſwell the name to *Caranathbrecht*, B. *Caranacait*, C. *Caranathbreth*, D.)

26. DEOAR, *Tavois*, A. C. 325, reigned 5 years. (*Deoartavois*, A. reſt wanting.) The epithet may be from *Tarwian*, *colere terram* (Lye), becauſe he firſt perhaps introduced agriculture.

27. VIST, A. C. 330, reigned 12 years. (*Uif*, A. reſt wanting.) There are two of the Hebud Iles, called North *Viſt*, and South *Viſt*.

28. RU, A. C. 342, reigned 25 years. (*Ru*, A. reſt wanting.) This name, like all the reſt, is Gothic: *Roe* is the ſeventh king of Denmark. *Ruric*, a Scandinavian, firſt king of Ruſſia.

29. GARNAT I. *Boc*, A. C. 367, reigned 1 year. (*Gartnoithboc*, A. *Gernath Bolg*, B. *Garnaird Bolg*, C. *Garnath Bolger*, D.) If *Boc* be the epithet, it is *Boc*, *Cervus*, *Wachter*; *Bock*, *Caper*, *Ihre*. The Stag, The Buck, from his ſwiftness. If *Bolg*, or *Bolger*, it means, The Angry: *Bolgenmod*, *iracundus*. Lye. The Pikish Chronicle obſerves, *a quo Garnait*, 'from whom the name of Garnat.' And we accordingly find ſeveral other kings of this name.

30. VERE, A. C. 368, reigned 2 years. (*Vere*, A. reſt wanting.)

31. BRETH, A. C. 370, reigned 2 years. (*Breth*, A. reſt wanting.)

32. VIPOIG, *namet*, A. C. 372, reigned 7 years. (*Vipoignamet*, A. *Umpapenemet*, B. *Wypopmet*, C. *Wypopneth*, D.) *Nam* is *captus*, The priſoner: but *namet* may be derived from *nam*, a name,
See

See Lye and Wachter: and may imply famous, renowned.

33. CANUT, *Ulac-bama*, A. C. 379, reigned 1 year. (*Canatulacbama*, A. *Canatulmel*, B. *Enalculmel*, C. *Canatulmel*. D.) This name alone would sufficiently mark the whole series Gothic. Who knows not the Canut's of Denmark? *Ula-bama*, Hairy-skin, or Hairy-mantle; a simple antique epithet like the others, and like *Bla-tang*, Blue-tooth, and others of Danish, and Swedish, and Norwegian kings. *Ulab*, *Villus*, *floccus*, Lye. *Uloblic*, *villosus*. *Hama*, *cutis*, *tegmen*. Id. *Ul*, *lana*. Ihre.

34. WRADECH, *Vechta*, A. C. 380, reigned 1 year. (*Wradech vechla*, A. *Frachna Albus*, B. *Fathna*, C. *Frachna Albus*, D.) Thus we learn that the epithet implies *Albus*, The White; as *Vechta* is near enough to our word, *White*, to shew it's being Gothic.

35. GARNAT II. *di Uber*, A. C. 381, reigned 15 years. (*Garnaich di uber*, A. *Garnat Dives*, B. *Garnard Dives*, D.) Thus *di Uber* is interpreted The Rich; and accordingly *di* is Gothic, German, for *the*, and *Uber* is *nota abundantiae*, Wachter.

36. TALORC I. son of Achivir, A. C. 396, reigned 18 years. *Talore*, A. *Talarg*, B. *Tbalorger*, D.) The name seems from *Talian*, *dicere*, *Tal*, *sermo*, Lye; The Speaker, The Commander.

Here ends the First Part, which itself has amazing marks of authenticity, and approaches nearer to history than poetry. The correspondence even of the mutilated chronicles is striking; and would, with a Scaliger, or a Petavius, men of the most rigid judgement, have been sufficient to stamp historic faith upon the whole. It must not be forgot that Fordun, tho he omits no less than 21 real kings, has 5 superfluous ones, not in our Chronicle. The Register of St. Andrew's omits 20 real, and gives 2 superfluous. Winton, tho

quite careless, so as to omit 23 real kings, has yet two superfluous.

These supernumerary kings seem to have been rebels and usurpers; and therefore rejected in the genuine Pikiſh Chronicle, which bears the exact number of 70 kings prior to Constantin, as mentioned in the old Irish Annals, and so many collateral and intrinsic marks of authenticity, that it must ever be regarded as the sole standard. Fordun's five superfluous kings are:

1. *Blare Haffereth*, whom he places next after Vipoig the 32d king, and who may have been an usurper, or rebel, whose power might be acknowledged where the chronicle copied by Fordun was written.

2. *Thalarger Amfrud*, who in Fordun follows the 34th king, Wradech Vechta. A mere mistake, in transcribing from a catalogue in double columns, for this Thalarger fil. Amfrud was the 56th king, whom see.

3. *Dongard Netheles*. This king the Register of St. Andrew's also has; but spelled *Dinornacht Netalic* (*Netelic, bestiis similis, Lye.*) Winton calls him *Denortenach Neteles*.

4. *Feredach, son of Finyel*. This king also occurs in the three authors, Fordun, the Register of St. Andrew's, and Winton. The Register calls him *Feodak Finleg*. Winton *Fourdauch Fyngiel*.—These two follow the 34th king also; and might be usurpers.

5. *Hungus, son of Fergoso*. This king is a mere forgery of the priests of St. Andrew's, as appears from the Excerpts of the Priory Register^d, and supported by Fordun, the notorious father of 45 Scottish princes. He was fabricated because a Hungus had founded St. Andrew's about 825; and it's priests wanted to pass Regulus for it's founder in the fourth century, so forged this

^d In Bibl. Harl. It calls him *Hungus fil. Ferlon*.

Hungus to make things hang together, as Fordun forged a Fergus I. because Fergus son of Erc founded the Scottish monarchy. He places this Hungus after Garnat the Rich; and tells in different places long dreams about him and Regulus.

End of Part First.

Part II. HISTORICAL. *From the reign of Drust the Great 414, till that of Kenneth, 843.*

The Pikish monarchy, anciently confined to the Hebud Iles, was by degrees extended over the northwest of Pikland, or present Scotland; and Drust, who begins this series, seems to have employed some of his many battles in spreading it over all Pikland. For in the next century we find Beda mentions Brudi II. as king of all the Piks, without any hint that the title was new. The reign of Drust is remarkable, and illustrious, in many respects; from Christianity being established among the Southern Piks in, or just before, his time; from the rude praise, that he fought a hundred battles; from the frequent incursions of the Piks, and their seizing on Valentia, when the Romans left the island. Hence the epithet of Great seems his due; and is often given with less cause.

For no less than TWENTY-SIX reigns, after this, the whole FOUR Chronicles agree in names, and generally in years. And the Fourteen last of these Twenty-six are also supported by two other authorities, the list in the Irish Nennius, and the Annals of Tighernac. A coincidence which, were they different forgeries, as they all differ in other points, would be something infinitely more than miraculous.

37. DRUST the Great, A. C. 414, reigned 38 years. (*Drust filius Erp*, A. *Drust fil. Urb*, B.

T 4

Drust

Druſt fil. Irbii, D. *Druſt*, C.) *Durſta* is the name in Runic inſcriptions. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 277. The Pikiſh Chronicle ſays it was in the xixth year of Druſt's reign, that St. Patrick went to Ireland. Uſher ſhews that it was in 432, that event happened; which forms a fixt epoch for the commencement of this reign. Druſt is ſaid to have fought an hundred battles, that is, a great number; many of them perhaps to eſtabliſh his authority over the Southern Piks; and many, no doubt, againſt the Britons and Romans, the later of whom left the iland. Conn, a king of Ireland, is alſo called of the Hundred Battles. Otulfax, a king of Norway, is ſaid to have fought ninety battles, and thirteen duels, and to have lived 130 years. Torſæi Norweg. Vol. I. p. 220^e.

38. TALORC II. A. C. 452, reigned 4 years. (*Talore filius Aniel*, A. *Talarg fil. Amil*, B. *Golarg Mak Amyl*, C. *Thalarger fil. Amyle*, D.) Winton, for the ſake of his verſe, uſes *Mak* for *ſon of*, as the Irith: tho he oftener uſes *ſon* at the end, as *Brude Bilifon*, &c.

39. NETHAN I. *Morbet*, A. C. 456, reigned 25 years. (*Necton Morbet filius Erp*, A. *Nethan Thelcamot*, B. *Nectan Kellemot*, C. *Nectan Thaltamoth*, D.) *Moer*, *celebris*, *famoſus*: *Beta*, *pascere*; *jungere equos currui*; *incitare*, *inſtigare*: *Ihre*. The other epithet may be from *Telning*, *furculus*; and *Kam*, *apex*, *vertex*: Id. as being chief branch of his family. The Pikiſh Chronicle tells at ſome length his founding of Abernethy, in the third year of his reign, or 458; and calls him the great king of all the provinces of the Piks. Uſher

* During this reign the Jutes came to England; and Geoffrey of Monmouth ſays the Piks of Vortigern's guard, called them in! Gale, in his notes to Nennius, thinks Vortigern himſelf a Pik, *Ego ſuſpicor Guortigernum fuiſſe genere Pictum vel Scytham, qui Pictorum ope ad regnum pervenerit*. A wiſe ſuſpicion no doubt! but when will Engliſh hiſtory begin to be treated with the ſame accurate ſeverity as the Greek, or Roman?

ſhews

shews that some date Bridget's *birth* in 439, others in 450, which would contradict this account. Bridget certainly died about 520^f; for, such was the spirit of the times, that we have more certainty about saints, than any thing else. She was in extreme old age, when she died. But in no shape could this foundation take place in the third year of Nethan's reign; nor could a church be dedicated to Bridget in her life-time. So that this is a mere ecclesiastic fable; and it is surprizing that Innes should have past in silence so palpable an anachronism.

The Register of St. Andrew's dates the foundation of Abernethy in the reign of Nethan II. son of Urb, or, as others, nephew of Erb; so that he might be mistaken for the brother of Drust, son of Erp. Fordun says Garnat, predecessor of Nethan II. founded Abernethy: to which Winton assents. As the Register of St. Andrew's is a far better authority than Fordun, it seems reasonable to think that Abernethy was really founded by Nethan II. about the year 600. And that he, being also son of an Erp, as was Nethan I. an error crept into the Pikish Chronicle; or rather an ecclesiastic fraud of the religious of Abernethy, in order to enhance their own antiquity. Bede mentions that Naitan, or Nethan III. king of the Piks in 715, desired architects from the Angles of Northumberland to build a church of stone. I confess, it seems to me that this was the period of the foundation of Abernethy: but perhaps a wooden fabric might have been reared by Nethan II. However Nethan I. is out of the question; and the veracity of our Chronicle is here violated for once, by that grand falsifier of all Chronicles, ecclesiastic fraud.

^f See Usher Ant. Eccl. Brit. p. 459, from Marianus Scotus; the Annals of Ulster, &c.

40. DRUST II. *Gurtbinmoch*, A. C. 481, reigned 30 years. (*Drest Gurtbinmoch*, A. *Drust Gormot*, B. *C. Durst Gortbnoth*, D.) The epithet seems from *Gurten*, *cingere*; *Moge*, *potens*, *Wachter*; *with the strong girdle*.

41. GALAN I. *Avetelich*, A. C. 511, reigned 12 years. (*Galan Avetelich*, A. *Galam*, B. *C. Galaam*, D.) *Awita*, *amens*, *Ihre*: *lich*, *similis*.

42. DADRUST, A. C. 523, reigned 1 year. (*Dadrest*, A. wanting, B. *C. Durst*, D.)

43. DRUST III. son of Gyrom, A. C. 524. After reigning one year DRUST IV. son of Udrost, was associated with him in the government; and reigned five years. Then Drust III. reigned alone five years more. Hence this reign is of 11 years. (*Drest filius Gyrom*, *et Drest filius Udrost*. A. *Drust fil. Gigurum*, *et Drust filius Hydroffig*, B. *Durst fil. Gigurum*, *et Drust fil. Ochtrede*, D. *Drust Gygmor*, *et Drust Hoderling*, C.)

44. GARNAT III. another son of Gyrom, A. C. 535, reigned 7 years. (*Gartnoch fil. Gyrom*, A. *Ganut fil. Gigurum*, B. *Garnat Gygmor*, C. *Garnart fil. Gigurum*, D.)

45. KEALTRAIM, another son of Gyrom, A. C. 542, reigned 1 year. (*Cealtraim fil. Gyrom*, A. *Kelturan frater Ganut*, B. *Gelturam*, C. *Kelturan frater Garnart*, D.)

46. TALORC III. son of Muircholaich, A. C. 543, reigned 11 years. (*Talorg fil. Muircholaich*, A. *Golarg fil. Mordeleg*, B. *Golarg Mak Mordeleg*, C. *Thalarger fil. Mordelech*, D.)

47. DRUST V. son of Munait, A. C. 554, reigned 1 year. (*Drest filius Munait*, A. *Drust fil. Moneth*, B. *Drust Mak Moneth*, C. *Durst fil. Moneth*, D.)

48. GALAN II. A. C. 555, reigned with ALEPH, 1 year; with BRUDI II. 1 year; so 2 years. (*Galam cum Aleph et Briduo*, A. *Tagalad*, B. *Gagalad*, C. *Thalagath*, D.)

After this period the Catalogue of Pikish kings, which I ynych found in an Irish translation of Nennius,

nus, comes in [E]; and the Annals of Tighernac, and of Ulster, furnish much intelligence concerning Pikish affairs *.

49. BRUDI II. son of Meilochon, A. C. 557, reigned 31 years, including the one he reigned with Galan II. (*Brides fil. Mailcom, A. Brude fil. Melchon, B. Brude Methmessor, C. Brude fil. Meilochon D. Brudeus fil. Melchon, E. Brudeus, Adomnan. Bridius fil. Meilochon rex potentissimus, Beda. Bridus, App. ad Marc. Com. Bruidi Mac Melcon, Tigh.*) In the Ninth year of his reign, he was converted to Christianity, with most of the Northern Piks, by Columba. See Cuminius, Adomnan, Beda, &c.

The Appendix to Marcellinus Comes, written by some German, has this passage concerning Brudi II. *Anno 557. In Britannia Bridus rex Pictorum efficitur. Hildebertus rex Francorum circa hæc tempora moritur.* The Annals of Tighernac say that Brudi was born in 504; but put 507, as they are generally three years antedated thro-out ^s. His death they place at 583, tho really 587. At 579 [582] they bear *Kenelath rex Pictorum moritur*: and he is the *only* king of the Piks mentioned in these Annals, but unknown to our Chronicles. Perhaps he was a local monarch; or, as depositions of kings were not uncommon among the Piks, a king deposed in favour of Brudi, and the same with the *Aleph* of our Chronicles: for in Ireland, as future examples evince, the names of our monarchs are sometimes altered by different pronunciation. The two next kings are not mentioned by Tighernac, or the Ulster Annalist: but they have all the other *Twenty-five* to the end, except *four*, whose reigns were very short: and they uniformly confirm the Pikish Chronicle in names, and duration of reign.

50. GARNAT IV. son of Domelch, A. C. 587, reigned 11 years. (*Gartnaich fil. Domelch, A. Gar-*

* See the Extracts, Vol. II. Appendix.

† The dates are generally added on the margin by a late hand.

nat fil. Domnach, B. Garnat Mak Dounab, C. Garnard fil. Dompnach, D. Garnad, fil. Domnach, E.) To this king Winton and Fordun ascribe the foundation of Abernethy.

51. NETHAN II. grandson of Verp, A. C. 598, reigned 20 years. (*Neſtu nepos Verp, A. Netban fil. Ub, B. wanting C. Neſtan fil. Irbe, D. Neckan nepos Verp, E.)* To this king the Register of St. Andrew's ascribes the foundation of Abernethy.

52. KINIOD I. son of Luthrin, A. C. 618, reigned 19 years. (*Cineoch fil. Luthrin, A. Kinel fil. Luthren, B. Kynel Mak Luthren, C. Kenel fil. Luchtren, D. Kenethus fil. Luthrin, E. Cinedb fil. Luthreni, Tigh.)* By an error in the press, or transcription, the Pikish Chronicle, as published by Innes, gives but xi. years to this prince, instead of xix. as the Irish Nennius expressly bears, and the chronology demands.

An unintelligible passage of Tighernac bears at 628 [632]. . . . *Buidbe regis Piſtorum per filios Aodbain.* At 630 he has, *Bellum Perlacartle, et mors Cinedhon filii Luthreni regis Piſtorum.* Kiniod seems hence to have fallen in this battle.

53. GARNAT V. son of Wid, A. C. 637, reigned 4 years. (*Garnard fil. Wid. A. In B. he is styled Neſtan son of Fottle. Nattan Fodiffon, C. Nectan fil. Fode, D. Garnaid filius Vaid, E. Gartnaitb Mac Oith, Tigh.)* The *Fode* mis-spelt *Fottle*, or perhaps *Fotbe* in B. is evidently the *Wid* of A. and this king had probably two names, *Garnat Neſtan*, as Fordun says *Druſt I. was also called Neſtan, Durſt qui alias vocabatur Neſtan.*

Tighernac says at the year 634, as marked on the margin, *Ecclesia Rechran fundata est. Mors Gartnait Mac Foith. Bellum Hegaiſe in quo cecidit Laſtina Mac Nechtain, cum Fotha Cumascach Mac Eneasa, et Gartnaitb Mac Oith.* It hence seems that Garnat was slain at the battle of *Hegaiſe*, probably in an intestine war. Tighernac often speaks even of the kings of Ireland merely by name, without any addition of title.

54. BRUDI III. another son of Wid, A. C. 641, reigned 5 years. (*Bridei filius Wid, A. Brude fil. Fathe, B. Brude, C. Brude fil. Fachna, D. Brudeus filius Vaid, E. Bruidi fil. Foith, Tigh.*) 'Mors Bruidi filii Foith.' Tigh. ad ann. 640.

55. TALORC IV. another son of Wid, A. C. 646, reigned 12 years. (*Talore frater eorum [Garnat et Brudi] A. Telarg fil. Fetobar, B. i. e. son of Fet [Wid] above named: ober, Germ.—Golarge, C. Tbalarger fil. Ferchard, D. Tolore frater eorum, E. Dolairg Mac Foith, Tigh.*)

Mors Ferith Mac Tuatbalan, et Dolairg Mac Foith regis Pictorum. Tigh. ad A. 652.

56. TALORGAN I. son of Enfret, A. C. 658, reigned 4 years. (*Talorcon fil. Enfret, A. Talargan fil. Amfrude, B. Golargan, C. Thalargan fil. Amfrud, D. Talorcan fil. Enfret, E. Dolargain Mac Anfrith, Tigh.*) This monarch, by some error of Fordun, occurs twice in the list, here, and after the 34th king; a mistake probably arising from his copy being written in double columns, so that his name had slipped from one column into the other, yet was repeated in its proper place. *Mors Dolargain Mac Anfrith regis Pictorum.* Tigh. ad 656.

57. GARNAT VI. son of Donell, A. C. 662, reigned 6½ years. (*Gartnait fil. Donnell, A. Garnat fil. Domnal, B. Garnat Mac Donald, C. Garnard fil. Dompnal, D. Garnad fil. Donel, E. Gartnaidb fil. Donaldi, Tigh.*)

Mors Gartnaidb fil. Donaldi, et Donaldi filii Tuathalani. Tigh. ad 662.

58. DRUST VI. another son of Donell, A. C. 669, reigned 7 years. (*Drest frater ejus [Garnat] A. B. Durst his brother, C. frater ejus Durst, D. Druse frater ejus, E. Drost fil. Domnail, Tigh^h.*)

^h About 665 the Piks invaded Ulster; but, as would seem by the records, they were repulsed with loss. Wynne's Hist. Irel.

About 671 the Piks renewed their irruptions, burned a monastery; and drove out the poor monks, after which, and other depredations, they retired to their own country. *Ibid.*

Tigh-

Tighernac, at 663, has *Bellum Ludhoseirn in Fortren*, or 'the war of Ludhoseirn in Pikland;' for Pikland he often calls FORTREN, from the king's residence at Forteviot, or some chief town; as the Laws of Howel Dha term the king of England, king of London. At 667 he tells us that the sons of Garnat sailed into Ireland, with the people *Sceth*; and that they returned next year. Garnat VI. is probably alluded to. At 671 he puts *Expulsio Drofili de regno*, 'the expulsion of Drust from his kingdom;' certainly Drust VI.

59. BRUDI IV. son of Bili, A. C. 676, reigned 21 years (*Bredei fil. Bili, A. Brude fil. Bile, B. Brude Bilis son, C. Brude fil. Bile, D. Brudeus fil. Fili, E. Bruide Mac Bile, Tigh.*) This Brudi slew Egfrid king of Northumberland in battle, 685. as the addition to Nennius informs.

At 681 Tighernac says *Orcades deletæ sunt a Bruide*, 'the Orkneys ravaged by Brudi.' At 692, *Bruide Mac Bilerex Fortren moritur*, 'Brudi son of Bili king of Pikland dies.' He also at that year marks the death of Alphin, son of Nethan; and the slaughter of Ainfrith and Pithnel, sons of Boeno, apparently Piks.

60. THARAN II. son of Entifidich, A. C. 697, reigned 4 years. (*Taran fil. Entifidich, A. Taram fil. Amfredach, B. wanting C. Gharan fil. Amfedach, D. Taran fil. Enfidi, E. Taracin, Tigh.*)

At 696 Tighernac puts the expulsion of Tharan II. from his kingdom: but the marker of the years is generally from three to five years wrong.

61. BRUDI V. son of Derili, A. C. 701, reigned 11 years. (*Bredei fil. Dereli, A. Brude fil. Derili, B. Brude Dargardson, C. Brude fil. Decili, D. Breites fil. Derilei, E. Brude Mac Derile, Tigh.*)

In the reign of Brudi, son of Derili 697, i. e. 702, Tighernac marks a war between the Saxons (Angles of Northumbria) and the Piks, in which fell Brechtra son of Bernith. At 705 is put *Brude Mac Derile moritur*, 'Brudi, son of Derili, dies.'

He

He founded the churches at Culrofs and in Lochleven as Winton fays ; but others afcribe this laft to Brudi VII.

62. NETHAN III. another fon of Derili, A. C. 712, reigned 15 years. (*Nechton fil. Dereli, A. Neftan frater ejus* [Brude] B. *his brother Naftan, C. frater ejus Neftane, D. Neftanus fil. Derilei, E. Naitan, Beda. Netan Mac Derile, Tigh.*) To this prince Ceolfrid wrote his famous letter, given by Beda, in 715. Winton fays he founded Rofmarkin ; a circumftance no where elfe to be found ; tho Beda tells us he defired, and had, architects to build a church, from Ceolfrid.

Tighernac in this reign [at 710, i. e. 712, or 713, mentions a slaughter of the Piks by the Saxons, *in Campo Manan*, (perhaps in the ile of Maun), where Finguin, fon of Delaroith, fell. At 712, i. e. 714, or 715, he marks the slaughter of Kiniod, fon of Derili, apparently the king's brother ; and of the fon of Mathgennan. Talorc, fon of *Druftan*, was alfo that year put in chains by his *brother* Nethan, the king. He muft have been half-brother, or brother in law, or brother at arms ; for king Nethan's father was Derili. At 715, i. e. 717, he marks the death of Garnat, fon of Delaroith, apparently brother of Finguin, above mentioned. In 716, i. e. 718, he mentions that the monks of Hyona were expelled beyond Drum Albin, by king Nethan : probably in confequence of the letter of Ceolfrid concerning Eaſter. At 718, i. e. 720, we find the slaughter of Druftan. In 725, i. e. 727, Nethan *conſtringitur*, 'is bound,' or put in chains, by king Druft VII. (*a Druft rege*) his ſucceſſor : and ſame year Talorgan Maphan died.

After this, the Pikish Chronicle agrees with the liſt in the Irish tranſlation of Nennius, and with Tighernac : but Fordun, and the Register of St. Andrew's, tho agreeing between themſelves, differ widely from the two firſt authorities, thro
five,

five, or, as they bear, *six* reigns, which amount to *sixty* years instead of *fifty*, the real space, thus altering the whole chronology, and most erroneously, as Hoveden, and other extraneous authors, prove. Winton is quite imperfect, but he leans to Fordun and the Register. The reason of this brief difference of the Scottish transcripts from the genuine Pikiſh Chronicle ſeems to be, that the nature of the ſucceſſion to the Pikiſh crown left room for many civil commotions, and the Old Scots of Dalriada being laterly at frequent variance with the Piks, it was their intereſt to ſupport every uſurper. The moſt remarkable variety is in the next reign. The Register of St. Andrew's gives it to Garnard, and ſays he reigned 20 years; but the numbers in that whole liſt are totally corrupt. Fordun gives him 14 years. He ſeems to have been an uſurper ſupported by the Dalriads, and whoſe reign was eſtimated by his life.

63. DRUST VII. and ELPIN I. A. C. 727, reigned together 5 years. (*Dreſt et Alpin*, A. *Dreſtus et Alpinus*, E. *Droſt*, Tigh. *Elpin*, Id. wanting reſt)ⁱ.

In 727, or 729, Tighernac mentions the intestine battle of Monacrib fought among the Piks themſelves. Unguſt, after king, was conqueror; and many on the ſide of Elpin the king (*Elpini regis*) were ſlain. Another bloody battle was fought between them the ſame year, near the caſtle of Crei, where Elpin fled. But Druiſt ſtill retained his throne, as appears preſently. Next year, or 730, we learn from the ſame authority that there was a battle between the army

ⁱ Caradoc of Lhancarvon, at 733, puts the death of an Edwyn king of the Piks. Perhaps the name in MSS. was Elpin. At 750 he marks a battle between the Piks and Britons at Magedawc, in which the Piks were defeated, and Talargan their king ſlain. This king was ſurely a *rex exercitus*, or general: but, from the ſilence of all other writers, the event ſeems fabulous.

of Nethan, commanded by *exactatores*, or officers, and that of Ungust. Rikeat son of Monet, and his son, and Fingain son of Druftan, officers on the part of Nethan, fell. The house of Ungust, with Fenach son of Fingair, and Muti, were victorious. Who Nethan was, appears not: but there is every reason to infer that he was Nethan III. and that he had either escaped, or, as more probable, his friends had raised this army to deliver him, and replace him on the throne. Same year another battle was fought at Droma Derg Blathug, in Pikland, between Ungust and king Druft, where Druft fell, and Ungust became king. The Piks thus felt the usual disadvantages of elective monarchy.

64. UNGUST I. son of Vergust, A. C. 732, reigned 29 years: the Pikish Chronicle, and Irish list, for the sake of a round number, say 30; an usual plan in barbaric times, when chronology is inaccurate, and round numbers please the memory. The Register of St. Andrew's says, he reigned 16 years, and after gives him 36. Fordun gives him 14 years: but we know from a Chronicle at the end of Beda; Simeon and Hoveden, that he died in 761. (*Onnust fil. Urgust, A. Oengusa fil. Fergus, B. C. D. Onuis fil. Urgust, E. Oengus, Chron. ad fin. Bedæ. Unnust, Simeon Dunelm; et Hoveden. Aongus Mac Fergus, Tigh.*) This prince is noted by extraneous authors, his reign being long, and full of enterprize and glory. In 744 was fought a noted battle between the Piks and Britons of Strat-clyde. *Sim. Dunelm. &c.* In 756, Edbert king of Northumbria joined his army to that of Ungust, against the Strat-clyde Britons; and Alcluid yielded on terms (of homage, as would seem). *Simeon. Hoveden.* In 761 he died. *Chron. ad fin. Bedæ.* Hoveden says in 762; Simeon in 759.

But it is to Tighernac that we are chiefly indebted for his fame. Ungust I. whom the reader has already seen always in war, and always victorious in former

reigns; the dethroner of two kings, and the conqueror of every rival; was, after Druft the Great, the most valiant and powerful of our monarchs. His reign, of twenty-nine years, was a succession of exertions and acquisitions. The continuator of Beda says, *Anno 761 Qengus Pieterum rex obiit; qui regni sui principium usque ad finem facinore cruenta tyrannus perduxit carnifex*, that Ungust, thro his whole reign, was a bloody tyrant, and executioner. He appears indeed to have been a cruel prince, but at the same time most brave and warlike; nor was clemency a virtue of that age. In his numerous wars he might not shew much respect to the monks; and this may have induced the monastic continuator to slander his fame. But let us judge him by his actions. The second year of his reign, as appears from Tighernac, or 734, a battle was fought between Brudi, son of Ungust I. and Talorgan, son of Congust; the later was defeated, and fled. Three years after, or 737, this Talorgan, son of Congust, was defeated by his brother, and delivered to the people, who drowned him. Nothing more is known concerning this Pikish chief. Talorgan, son of Druftan, was seized and bound, near the castle of Olia; Don Lethfin, apparently his residence, was destroyed: and he was after obliged to fly to Ireland from the power of Ungust. In 739 Ungust ravaged Dalriada, took Dunat, and burned Creio; and put Dungal and Ferach, the two sons of Selvac, late king of Dalriada, in chains. Brudi, son of Ungust, died. A battle was fought at Twini Onirbre, between the Piks and Dalriads: Talorgan, son of Vergust (apparently brother of Ungust), defeated the Dalriads under Murdac, son of Ambkellach; and pursued them with great slaughter. In 741, Talorgan, son of Druftan, king of Ahafoitle, was drowned by orders of Ungust. He seems the same above-mentioned, who had fled to
Ireland,

Ireland, but had returned. The title of king was very common in these times; and applied to any chief of great power. The punishment of drowning, now unknown, was formerly practised among the Gothic nations^k; and even lately in Russia. In 742, Cubretan, son of Congust, died. In 743, a battle was fought at Droma Cathvaoil, between the Piks and Dalriads: and in this year Dalriada was utterly wasted by Ungust. The old Dalriadic race of kings now expires, and a new Pikish one succeeds; as the reader will find, when we come to the kings of Dalriada. Three years after, or 746, the battle of Catho was fought between the Piks and Welch of Strat-clyde; in which Talorgan, son of Vergust, and brother of Ungust, fell. In 761, Ungust died, after an active and glorious reign. For all these notices we are indebted to Tighernac, and the Annals of Ulster. It is impossible to help suspecting that the great actions of this prince, and in particular his destroying the kingdom of Dalriada, an Irish settlement, induced our Irish Chroniclers in Scotland to pervert the Pikish Chronicles at this period. The kingdom and name of the Old Scots in Britain, mentioned by Adomnan and Beda, totally cease with the conquest of Dalriada, and are never after to be found. The name of the new, or Present Scots, was given to the Piks about 1020, as after shewn; and the Dalriads

^k Tacitus says of the Germans, 'Proditores, et transfugas, arboribus suspendunt. Ignavos, et imbelles, et corpore infames, cæno ac palude, injecta insuper crate, mergunt.' Germ. c. 12. Hence this punishment appears to have been a mark of great infamy. The *alum et bajum*, pit and gallows, of feudal laws apparently rose from this practice. Sueno, p. 113, tells that Eric king of Denmark, in 1135, *Biornonem nepotem suum captivavit . . . annexumque molari in profundum abyssi demersit*. And Snorro tells us, that the Swedes boasted of drowning five of their kings. *Heimskr.* Vol. III.

are ever after 743 called *Gatheli*, *Hibernenses*, or Irish.

65. BRUDI VI. another son of Vergust, A. C. 761, reigned 2 years. (*Bredei fil. Wirgust*, A. *Brude fil. Tenegus*, B. C. D. *Brete fil. Urgust*, E. *Bruide*, Tigh.) *Bruide rex Fortren mort.* Tigh. ad Annum 762.

66. KINIOD II. son of Wirdech, A. C. 763, reigned 12 years. (*Ciniod filius Wirdech*, A. wanting B. C. D. *Kenethus fil. Viredcg*, E. *Cinaob*, Tigh. *Cynoth*, Hoveden. *Kynoch*, Simeon). The want of this prince in B. C. D. sufficiently shews them imperfect, and illusory. It was to this Kiniod that Alcred, king of Northumbria, fled for refuge in 774, as Roger Hoveden and Simeon of Durham tell; and they also fix his death to the next year or 775, in perfect coincidence with this chronicle.

Tighernac at 763 bears, 'A battle at Fortren, between Aod and Kinaoh:' the later was the Pikiish king. At 774, he has, *Mors Kinaoh regis Pictorum*. Caradoc of Llancarvon also mentions him.

Here the six accounts again agree in names of kings; and are nearly uniform to the end.

67. ELPIN II. son of Vered, A. C. 775, reigned $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. (*Elpin fil. Wroid*, A. *Alpin fil. Feret*, B. *Alpin*, C. *Alpinus fil. Feredech*, D. *Alpinus fil Vrod*, E.)

Tighernac at 779 marks the death of Elpin king of the Saxons. As there was no king of the Saxons of that name, it seems an error of the transcriber for *Piks*.

68. DRUST VIII, son of Talorgan, A. C. 779, reigned 4 years. (*Drest fil. Talorgan*, A. *Drust fil. Talargan*, B. wanting C. *Durst fil. Thalargan*, D. *Drest fil. Talorcen*, E.)

At 781, Tighernac bears the death of *Drustalarg*, king of the Piks, *citra Monah*, on this side Monah.

Monah. I know not if he means *Drust Talorgan-son*, or some great chief.

69. TALORGAN II. son of Ungust, A. C. 783, reigned $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. (*Talorgan fil. Onnust, A. Talargan fil. Drustan, B. wanting C. Tbalarger fil. Drusken, D. Tolorcen fil. Drustan, E.*)

70. CANUL, son of Tarla, A. C. 786, reigned 5 years. (*Canul fil. Tarla, A. Tbalargan fil. Tenegus, B. D. wanting, C. Canul fil. Tang, E. Conal Mac Teige, Tigh. si sic MSS.*)

Tighernac, at 788, marks a battle between the Piks, where Conal Mac Teige was vanquished, and fled, and Constantin was conqueror: evidently this king and his successor.

These compleat the Seventy Pikish kings preceding Constantin, as the ancient Irish Annals bear.

71. CONSTANTIN, son of Vergust, A. C. 791, reigned 30 years. (*Castantin fil. Wrgust, A. Constantin fil. Fergus, B. Constantin, C. Constantinus fil. Fergusii, D. Cuastain fil. Urgust, E. Constantin Mac Fergus, Tigh.*) The Register of St. Andrew's, Fordun, and Winton, all agree that this monarch erected the church of Dunkeld; and Winton dates this erection in 815. *Constantin Mac Fergus rex Fortren mor. Tigh. ad 819.*

In 796, Osbald, a Northumbrian nobleman, after reigning in Northumbria for a month only, was expelled; and fled by sea from Lindesfarn to the Pikish king, and after died an Abbot. *Sim. Dun.*

72. UNGUST II. another son of Vergust, A. C. 821, reigned 12 years. (*Unnust fil. Wrgust, A. Hungus fil. Fergus, B. Hungus, C. Hungus fil. Fergusii, D. Vidanist fil. Urgust, E. Aongus Mac Fergus, Tigh.*) This king, all the above authors agree, founded Kilremont, afterward called St. Andrew's. A part of the charter, as preserved in

the Register of St. Andrew's, is given by Sibbald in his history of Fife^f. The witnesses are *Thalarg*, son of *Ythernbutib*; *Nactan*, son of *Chelturan*; *Garnach*, son of *Dofnach*; *Drust*, son of *Urtbro*; *Nachtalech*, son of *Gigbert*; *Skinab*, son of *Lucheran*; *Anegus*, son of *Forchele*; *Pberadach*, son of *Phinleich*; *Phiachan*, son of *Bolge*; *Gmunmerath*, son of *Taran*; *Demene*, son of *Cringanena*; *Duptaleich*, son of *Bargab*; ALL OF THE ROYAL RACE. The account of the foundation of St. Andrew's, containing this charter, is written by *Chana*, son of *Dudabratb*; and bears a singular addition, *Regi Pberath, filio Bargetb in villa Migdale*. What is the meaning of this address? *Vered*, (here called *Pherath*), son of *Barget*, was king in 839, six years after the death of *Ungust II*. Should we read *Regi*, as here, and suppose the account was sent to the king? Or is it not more reasonable to suppose the copy had *Rege*, and was taken during his reign, and bore this simple mark of his confirmation? *Tighernac* at 833 has, *Aongus Mac Fergus, rex Fortren, moritur*.

It is remarkable of this king, *Ungust II*. that he is the only prince, whose name, and that of his father, were the same with *Ungust I*. and that he succeeded his brother, who had reigned no less than thirty years.

73. *DRUST IX*. son of *Constantin*, and *TALORGAN III*. son of *Uthol*, A. C. 833, reigned together 3 years. (*Drest fil. Constantin, et Talorgan fil. Uthoil*, A. *Drest fil. Constantin, et Talorgus fil. Uthol*, E. wanting, C. The others B. and D. blunder the two names into one, *Dustalorg*, B. *Durstolorger*, D.)

The Pikiish succession seems here to have been violated for the first time, as *Drust*, son of king *Constantin*, ascended the throne.

^f See the Excerpts from the Register of St. Andrew's in the Appendix to this volume,

74. UVEN, son of Ungust, A. C. 836, reigned 3 years. (*Uuen fil. Unnust, A. Eoganan fil. Hungus, B. wanting, C. Eoghane fil. Hungus, D. Unen fil. Unust, E. Owen Mac Aongus, Tigh.*) A second violation of the succession.

At 838 Tighernac gives the last notice concerning the Piks, till 857, when he marks the death of Cinaoh, or Kenneth, son of Alpin, king of the Piks. It is that the Danes and Norwegians made war upon Pikland; and a battle was fought, in which fell Owen, son of Aongus; and Bran, son of Aongus; and Aod, son of Boan; and many others. The first is certainly Uven, son of Ungust, the king; and the second his brother.

75. VERED, son of Barget, A. C. 839, reigned 3 years. (*Ured fil. Bargoit, A. Ferat, fil. Batot, B. wanting, C. Ferech fil. Badoc, D. Urard fil. Barget, E.*)

76. BRUDI VII. son of Vered, A. C. 842, reigned 1 year. (*Bred, A. Brude fil. Ferat, B. wanting, C. Brude fil. Feredech, D. Breud, E.* Unhappily A. and E. do not give the name of his father; but it is clear from B. and D. that he was the son of Vered, or, as they call him by Celtic pronunciation, Ferat, the last king.)

This Brudi is called son of Dergard, in the Chartulary of St. Andrew's, whence Ruddiman^s quotes this passage: 'Brudi, son of Dergard, who was last king of the Piks, according to ancient traditions, bestowed the island of Lochleven on God almighty, and St Serf, and the Culdees hermits residing there and serving God, and who are to continue to serve him in that island.' But Winton imputes this foundation to Brudi V. son of Derili, which name he puts Dergard: and the Chartulary seems to have confounded him with Brudi VII. when it terms him last king of the Piks.

^s Introduct. ad Diplom. Scotiæ.

After Kenneth's power was acknowledged, as is clear from the invaluable Pikiſh Chronicle, and from the Irifh liſt, the former of which cloſes with Brudi VII. and the later next after this Brudi gives Kenneth, the ſon of Alpin, he had, as the Register of St. Andrew's and Fordun ſtate, three ſucceſſive uſurpers to ſtruggle with. They were ;

Kinat, ſon of Ferat, whoſe uſurpation laſted one month.

Brudi, ſon of Fotel, who ſtood out 2 years.

Druſt, ſon of Ferat, who conteſted for 3 years.

This conteſt therefore laſted till 848. Two of the uſurpers were ſons of Vered, or Ferat, the 75th king, the *pretenders* of the time, for Kenneth was ſupported by the Pikiſh nation at large, as after explained.

Befide theſe three pretenders, the Register of St. Andrew's and Fordun have, in the Second Part, admitted one uſurper, and one erroneous king ; namely,

Garnat, ſon of Feredech, in the time of Druſt VII. and Elpin I. or about 727, an uſurper. But this Garnat is quite unknown to Tighernac, and the Annals of Ulſter, tho at this period full of Pikiſh affairs.

Nethan, ſon of Derili, whom they repeat at the ſame period, by a mere error in tranſcription, as he preceded Druſt VII. and Elpin I. his reign ceasing in 727 ; but this new reign of his they only extend to nine months. Nethan, who had been depoſed by Druſt, appears indeed, from Tighernac, to have re-aſſerted his right to the crown, as above-mentioned, which accounts for this repetition.

Some other kings are out of order, toward the end of Fordun's liſt, and of that given in the

the Register of St. Andrew's; which are indeed only valuable as collateral proofs of the two authentic monuments, the *Pikish Chronicle*, and the *List* preserved in the ancient Irish translation of *Nennius*. The *Annals of Tighearnach* and *Ulster*, and the old English historians, sufficiently confirm these two remains, and make the later part of *Pikish* history as clear as can be expected.

CHAPTER IX.

Extent of the Pikiſh dominions.

THE induſtrious and acute Innes, who ought never to be named by a Scotch antiquary but with ſuperlative praiſe, has treated this part of my ſubject at ſuch length, as to leave me little to add. I ſhall therefore on this one occaſion do little more than abſtract his account; tho with ſome corrections.

Tacitus, the moſt ancient author who gives any account of the northern parts of Britain, includes in the poſſeſſions of the Caledonii, or Piks, all the countries on the north ſide of the Tay. Ptolemy, in his geography, gives us the western boundary of the Caledonians on the ſouth; namely, Lelamonius Sinus, or Loch Fyn. Dio, in his relation of the expedition of Severus into Caledonia, mentions the Wall of Antoninus, as the boundary between the Caledonians and Mæataæ, for the former had, about the year 170, broken the Province of Veſpaſiana, and ſeized all the country down to Forth.

Beda is clear, that the Piks from an early period poſſeſſed the northern parts beyond the friths, from weſt to eaſt. For he tells that the frith of Clyde was anciently the boundary of the Britons and Piks^a. And he gives us to know that the

^a 1. 1. Yet the Gadeni, a part of the Strat-clyde Welch, had Dumbartonſhire: but of this preſently.

Dalriads at their first coming to Britain were received in a portion of the Piktish territories, *in parte Pictorum*, at the north side of the frith of Clyde. It is also clear from Beda, that, in 565, Hy, or Icolmkill, belonged to the Piktish territory, seeing the king of the Piks gave it to Columba. They who would on this occasion confute Beda from the Annals of Ulster, a work of the Fifteenth century, which say the Old Scots gave it to Columba, only shew gross ignorance of every law concerning historic authority. The distance of time is so great, that the later testimony can in no way confute the former; and these Annals being written by Irish churchmen, they would naturally wish to make Hyona belong to the Old Scots of Irish extract; and to give them the merit of this faintly donation. It is therefore apparent, that in 565 the Old Scots of Britain only held the south part of Argyle.

Ammianus Marcellinus, in the fourth century, divides the Piks into Dicaledones and Vecturiones; the former certainly the Northern Piks bordering on the Deucaledonian sea; the later the Southern, as appears from Richard; and their name, which is merely that of the Vikar, or Vichtar, the Icelandic pronunciation of Pikar, or Pichtar, in a Latin form. Snorro Sturleson, the venerable northern historian of the thirteenth century, calls the Old Piks of Norway, *Vikveriar*, or men of Vika; a name very near that of *Vecturiones*. Beda confirms this division of Ammianus, by mentioning that the Southern Piks, converted by Ninian, were divided from the Northern by high ridges of hills. That is, the Southern Piks were the Lowland Piks; the Northern, the Highland Piks; the two grand divisions of Scotland in all ages. These hills were the Grampians, which run from Loch Lomond on the west, to Aberdeenshire on the east,

Adomnan,

Adomnan, in a remarkable passage of his life of Columba, not to be found in the early editions, but published by Bollandus in his edition about the year 1660, from a fuller MS. and which passage also occurs in the invaluable MS. in the King's library, written in the twelfth or thirteenth century, tells us, that the hills of Drum-Albayn were the boundaries between the Piks and British Scots. *Pictorum plebe et Scottorum Britannia, quos utrosque Dorfi montes Britannici determinant.* The *Dorsum Britannicum* is a mere Latin translation of Drum-Albayn, 'The Back of Britain.' Father Innes, has, upon this occasion, much foreign matter about the Grampians, as if the Grampians were the only hills in Scotland! Every one knows that Drum-Alban is neither more nor less than the highest part of Braidalban; and so called even in last century^b. Innes supposes Drum-Alban must have been in a direct mathematical line, between Hyona and king Brudi's Castle, on the river Ness, near Inverness; because Adomnan says Columba used to pass it in his way to that castle on the Ness. Of course he makes the hills of Drum-Alban run from Athol, North-West, to the coast opposite to the ile of Skey. But as it is universally known to a certainty that Drum-Alban is the highest part, or mountainous ridge, of Braid-Alban; it is palpable that Columba crossed from Hyona to the nearest shore, that of Mid Lorn, in a line with Inverary, and from thence passed Braid-Alban to Inverness: a way which common sense points out as the nearest and most convenient. Innes seems to imagine that Columba went thro the Ile of Mull, and kept to the northward of Loch Linny, and Loch Ness. But in this case he could

^b 'And the highest part of Braid-Albin, is called Drum-Albin, that is, the back of Scotland, so termed, for forth of the back waters do, run in both the seas.' Moneypenny's Description of Scotland, London, 1612, 8vo. Edin. 1633, 1760, 12mo.

not have passed Drum-Alban, and must have gone a far way about, thro the region of the Piks : while the other way was nearer ; and he went thro the territory of his countrymen to it's extreme frontier, and so passed at once to the Pikish court, where the scene of his mission lay. Indeed the position of Drum-Alban is so well known, that it is needless to argue the point. In this remarkable passage, concerning the boundary of the Piks and Dalriadic Scots, Adomnan is speaking of a plague that happened in his own time, about the year 702, when he visited Alfred, king of Northumberland, as he himself, and Beda, tell : which plague, as the passage bears, visited all nations, save the Piks and British Scots, which were divided from each other by Drum-Alban. That is, the British Scots in the Eighth century were confined to Argyleshire with the Iles of Jura and Ila.

Adomnan, in speaking of the Pikish dominions, uses always the barbaric phrase of his age, *Pictorum Provincia*. The word *Provincia* had now become low Latin, for a region, land, or territory, however large, as under the Romans whole kingdoms had been provinces. In lib. I. c. 10. Adomnan uses *Galliarum Provinciis* ; for Gaul. Du Cange, in his glossary, observes that the kingdom of France is called *Provincia* by an ancient writer ; nay, that Tertullian calls the world itself, *Provincia*^c.

Those of the Hebud Iles, which are mentioned by Adomnan, are, 1. *Hyona*, or Icolmkill. 2. *Mallea*, or Mull. 3. *Colofus*, or Colonsa. 4. *Himba*, where there was a monastery, founded by Columba, and which would seem to have been upon

^c Pro regno Franciæ adhibet Adeodatus, PP. in privilegio pro majori Monast. *In cujus volumine et aliorum per Gallicanam provinciam constitutorum antistitum.* Provincia mundus ipse dicitur Tertull. adv. Valent. c. 20. *Igitur Demiurgus extra Pleromatis limites constitutus . . . novam provinciam condidit, hunc mundum.* Du Cange in voce.

the Coast of Ireland. 5. *Reckrea*, or *Rachlin*. 6. *Scia*, or *Skey*, where Columba was some days, *lib. III. c. 4. edit. Messingham*. This ile was then full of woods; and Columba flew *aprum*, 'a boar,' in it. In *lib. I. c. 12. edit. Mess.* § 31, *Surii, et al.* beginning, *Cum per aliquot dies in insula demoraretur Scotia vir beatus*; read, as the MS. in the king's Lib. bears, *in insula Scia*. Unhappily Adomnan gives no hint to which nation Mull and Skey belonged; but it seems certain that, while Hyona belonged to the Piks, these two great ilands to the north of it must have also been in their hands. The history of the Hebud Iles is obscure to excess, till the Ninth century, when the Norwegians got them. When the Piks acquired better habitations in Britain, they seem to have left the Hebud Iles very thinly inhabited; and in the Ninth century we may safely suppose the Old Scots, or Irish, were the most numerous people in them; and their speech prevailed, as at this day.

The Orkneys, being happily not inhabited by Celts, we know all that can be expected of their history: for while the Celts of the Hebud Iles were disgracing human nature with their second sight, and other frenzies, the Goths of Orkney lived in day-light and common-sense. It is sufficient to observe here, that Adomnan shews there was a *regulus*, or prince of the Orkneys, at the court of Brudi, king of the Piks, when Columba visited it about 570; and that this prince had given the Pikish sovereign hostages for his fidelity; whence Columba requested the king to recommend to this prince the monks then in the Orkneys. Thus it is clear that the Orkneys were subject to Pikland. Nennius also, who wrote in 858, shews that the Piks then held the northern extremity of Britain; for he says the Orkneys were 'situated at the extremity of Britain, beyond the
Piks.

Piks^d. The life of St. Findan, written by a cotemporary, and published by Goldastus, is an authentic monument of the Ninth century. The author, a companion of the saint, relates that Findan was carried away captive from Ireland, by the Norwegians, about the end of the eighth century; and that, in going from Ireland to Denmark, they came to certain ilands called the Orkneys in the neighbourhood of the Pikish nation, *ad quasdam venere insulas, juxta Pictorum gentem, quas Orcades vocant*^e. From an invaluable monument, published in the second edition of Wallace's Orkney Isles, London, 1700, being a Diploma of the year 1403, we learn that, when the Norwegians seized the Orkneys in the Ninth century, they found them possessed by the Pets, or Piks, and Papas. Who these Papas were, shall be afterward examined; but it suffices here to add, from that Diploma, that the Orkneys were then called *Terra Petorum*, 'a land of the Piks.' The name of Pentland Frith, called in the Navigation of James V. *Pictland Frith*, also confirms this. The guttural name of the Piks to be found in the Saxon Chronicle, and in the vulgar mouth, namely *Pebts*, being hard to pronounce, and somehow indefinite in the enouncing, *Pent* was in frequent use substituted; whence Pentland hills in the South of Scotland, and Pentland Frith in the furthest North.

The SOUTHERN extent of the Pikish dominions is rather more difficult to adjust, as being more changeable and obscure. The point is curious and important; for on it depends the question, whether the inhabitants south of Forth and Clyde be of English or Pikish origin? It therefore deserves

^d Tertia insula sita est in extremo limite orbis Britannia, ultra Pictos, et vocatur Orcania ins. Nenn. c. 2. p. 98. edit. Gale

^e Goldasti Aleman, rerum Script. Vet. 1606, fol. Vita Findani, p. 318.

to be examined with care; for tho the Angles and Piks were originally the very same people, the former being Danes, and from Scandinavia, as were the Piks, yet the discussion is interesting. Impartiality necessarily attends the subject; for, let the question be determined either way, the people of the south of Scotland are of Scandinavian origin; and it amounts barely to this, Was the south of Scotland peopled with Goths, from the north of Scotland, or from the north of England?

Innes divides the southern extent of the Pikiſh dominions into three epochs. 1. From the first mention we meet with in history of the Caledonians, or Piks, till the coming in of the Saxons 449. 2. From thence till the death of Egfrid king of Northumberland 685. 3. From Egfrid's death till the union of the Piks and Old Scots of Dalriada 843. The first of these epochs is improper, and ought to have been till the year 426. But Innes also errs in supposing that Tacitus and Ptolemy extend the Caledonians to Clyde and Forth.

There are really FOUR Epochs.

EPOCH I. Tacitus and Ptolemy shew, that the Piks originally extended only to Loch Fyn, and Tay, on the south. Nor did they reach to the Forth and Wall of Antoninus till Vespasiana was broken, about the year 170.

EPOCH II. Dio, Gildas, Beda, mark the Forth and Wall of Antoninus, as the southern boundary of the Piks, from about the year 170, till 426. Beda in one place, *lib. I. c. 1.* expressly mentions the frith of Clyde, as the ancient boundary between the Piks and Britons. But he errs, as is clear from Ptolemy, who puts the *Lelamonius Sinus*, or Loch Fyn, as the southern boundary of the Caledonians, or Piks, on the west; and the Clyde never was a boundary of the Piks in any shape. For on the north of the very mouth of Clyde were the Gadeni, a Cumraig people, south of the *Lelamonius Sinus*, and afterward a part of
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the kingdom of Strat-clyde, which laſted till the tenth century; when, and never before, Dumbarton-ſhire and the reſt of Straclyde fell into the hands of the Piks, being in fact the very laſt territory which they held. About 258, the Attacotti, or Dalriads, had Cowal, or that part of Argyle ſhire between Clyde and Loch Fyn, along with other contiguous territory, as Beda himſelf ſays in this very paſſage when he mentions that the Dalreudini ſettled on the *north* of the frith of Clyde; and *lib. I. c. 12.* where he deſcribes the Britiſh Scots as paſſing the Clyde, and the Piks the Forth, to invade the Britons. Thus it is clear from Ptolemy, a far more ancient authority, and from his own teſtimony in another place, that Beda is miſtaken when he mentions the Clyde as a boundary between the Piks and Britons. But if he extends the firſt of Clyde to the mull of Cantire, he is right; for the Epidii, a Pikiſh people, were inhabitants of Cantire before 258, when it was given to the Dalriads. And his deſcription of the firſt of Clyde, as *ſinus maris permaximus*, favours this interpretation of his context.

EPOCH III. In the year 425, or 426, as appears from Gildas and Beda, the Piks ſeized the whole province of Valentia, up to the wall of Gallio, between Solway and Tine. Gildas ſays, *cap. XV. edit. Bertram, 1757, 8vo. Tetri Scotorum, Pictorumque greges omnem aquilonarem, extremamque, terræ partem, pro indigenis murotenus capeſſunt.* ‘The dreadful crouds of Scots and Piks ſeized, as old inhabitants, the whole northern and extreme part of the land, up to the wall,’ namely, of Gallio, as his context ſhews. And he tells us, *cap. XIX.* that, after writing to Aetius, in 446, without ſucceſs, the Britons attacked the invaders; and the Scots, or Irish, went home, but the Piks retained the extreme part of the iland: ‘*Revertuntur ergo impudentes graſſatores Hyberni domum, poſt non multum tempus reverſuri. Picti*

in extrema parte insulæ tunc primum et deinceps requieverunt, prædas et contritiones nonnunquam facientes.' The *extrema pars insulæ* is here universally known to mean the extreme part of the Roman possessions in the island, to wit, the province of Valentia. The friths of Forth and Clyde are, by Gildas and Beda, regarded as seas of separation between the Roman island, or part of Britain, and the barbarous Piks, and Scots of Argyle. So Beda himself explains, lib. I. c. 12. speaking of the Piks and these Scots, *Transnarinas autem dicimus has gentes, non quod extra Britanniam essent positæ, sed quia a parte Britonum erant remotæ, duobus finibus maris interjacentibus, &c.* 'We say these nations came from beyond the seas, not because they were out of Britain; but because they were distant from the possession of the Britons, two arms of the sea, lying between, &c.' and he then describes the Forth and Clyde.

Beda narrates these transactions in the same way, and generally in the same words with Gildas.

Thus the Piks got possession of the province of Valentia: of which, as shall be after shewn, they ever afterward remained the inhabitants. But here a most obscure and difficult question occurs, concerning that darkest incident in the ancient history of England, namely, the territory subdued by Ohta and Ebusa, son and nephew of Hengist, about the year 460.

This question is only obscure and difficult, because it has never been examined, as indeed no part of the ancient history of England has been. It's full discussion is reserved for another place^f, where is shewn. 1. That there is great reason even to doubt the existence of Ohta and Ebusa, they being quite unknown to Beda, the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, and other the most ancient

^f Supplement to this work, Sect. I.

and authentic writers, and being only found in Nennius, an interpolated author. 2. That, if they did exiſt, there is no room to believe they made any ſettlement. 3. That if ſuch ſettlement exiſted, it muſt have been ſouth of the wall of Gallio. 4. That, in all events, ſuch ſettlement, if it exiſted, was deſtroyed in a year or two by the Pikiſ. The reader, who wiſhes here to be ſatiſfied of theſe points, has only to turn to the Supplement, Sect. I.

Such being the caſe, we may reſt aſſured, that till 547, when the great Ida led his Angles in forty ſhips from the continent, landed at Flamborough in Yorkſhire, and marching north, founded the kingdom of Bernicia, afterward to become the kingdom of all Northumbria; the Pikiſ, far from diminiſhing their territory, or reſtraining their progreſs, greatly advanced them. It is evident, from Gildas and Beda, that the Pikiſ in 426 had ſeized on all the territory down to the wall of Gallio, between Solway and Tine: and that they held that part EVER AFTER, in the words of Gildas, who wrote about 560, in quiet poſſeſſion; *tunc et DEINCEPS requieverunt*. This word *requieverunt* can ſolely bear ſuch meaning, for they only reſted, or remained in that acquired province, *pro indigenis*, as fixt inhabitants; but by no means reſted with regard to incurſions on the ſouth, as that very ſentence of Gildas, and his ſubſequent text, bear. Had the Pikiſ been contented with the province of Valentia, the Saxons would never have been called in. But when the Britons were quite debilitated by a plague, as Gildas and Beda ſhew, the Pikiſ taking that advantage carried their arms into the very heart of Britain: and the Belgic Britons, exhausted by Roman luxury and calamities, found the Pikiſ hurricane burſt upon their own poſſeſſions ſouth of Humber, and were forced to aſk aſſiſtance of the Jutes, who apparently had landed on their ſhores

by chance. In 368, when Theodosius came over, we find that he defeated some parties of Piks and Scots, in his progress thro Kent to London^s. In 448 and 449, there is room to think that the Piks had got nearly as far south, when Hengist and Horfa arriving in Kent marched against them, and defeated some of their advanced parties. Henry of Huntingdon says the main battle between Hengist and Horfa, and the Piks, was fought at Stamford in Lincoln-shire, which is but 89 miles north of London. The Piks, it is said, were defeated. But this is not a little obscure. Matthew of Westminster says, that Hengist was forced to retire to Germany for some years. According to the common accounts, Hengist came here in 449, and sent for more Jutes with Rowena his daughter, and Oeta his son, in 450; and died in 488, when he could not be less than 80 years of age. It seems probable that Hengist did return to collect his powerful armament of Jutes, who were to found the kingdom of Kent; and did not arrive with them till about 460, when Carte, an author of industry, seems rightly to mark the arrival of the reinforcement. However this be, all writers, ancient and modern, join in this, that instantly after the first battle was fought with the Piks, the Jutes, their countrymen, speaking the same tongue, concluded an alliance with them. This alliance could be founded on no other basis, than that either party should retain what lands they could conquer. Beda says that the Piks were driven somewhat back^h at the time of this treaty; and he dates it after the arrival of the reinforcement; that is, in 450, according to the common accounts, tho more probably about 460: but this is of no moment, nor are ten years of any conse-

^s Amm. Marcell. XXVII. p. 625, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1632, 12mo.

^h 'Longius pepulerant.' I. 15. The passage is presently produced.

quence in treating of the ſettlement of nations. The Piks had advanced as far as Stamford at leaſt; and they were driven ſomewhat back, that is, to the other ſide of the Humber. This great Gothic ſwarm pouring from the Caledonian mountains, where they had been long pent up by the exertions of Roman power, now ſpred like a flood that burſts a mound. The Brigantes fled from it to the mountains of Cumberland, and the weſtern ſhore: and the Piks certainly ſeized, as inhabitants, the whole eaſtern part, down to the Humber. From 448, to 547, being a century, they held this whole tract as part of their ſovereignty: but from 547 to 685, only as inhabitants; after 685, one half of it, being the ſouthern part of preſent Scotland, reverted to their monarchy, and continued to belong to it ever after; as inhabitants of the whole, they remain in their progeny to this day.

That the Piks ſeized all the country down to the Humber is no leſs clear, from the deduction neceſſarily ariſing from the ancient authors, than from this, that, had not ſuch been the caſe, the ſpeech of all that tract would have been Cumraig, or Welch, at this day; whereas it is more Gothic than that of any other part of England. Ida, who in 547 founded the kingdom of Bernicia; and Ælla, who about 559 founded that of Deira in this tract; had not, if both their armies be put together, above 15,000 men. A pretty number to people ſuch a country! Had the Cumri been then the inhabitants, they might amount to a million; and their ſpeech would infallibly have prevailed, as all know is ever the caſe with the moſt numerous people. The Danes afterward were in the ſame predicament.

Another circumſtance, corroborating the Pikiſh origin of the Northumbrians, is the decree of the Council of Calcot in Northumbria, held in the year 787, againſt that noted practice of the Piks, the painting, or ſtaining, of their bodies. It is

as follows : *Annexuimus ut unusquisque fidelis Christianus a Catholicis juris exemplum accipiat ; et, si quid ex ritu Paganorum remansit, avellatur, contemnatur, abjiciatur. Deus enim formaverit hominem pulchrum in decore et specie. Pagani vero, diabolico instinctu, cicatrices acerrimas superinduxerunt : dicente Prudentio.*

Tinxit et innocuam maculis sordentibus humum. Domino enim videtur facere injuriam, qui creaturam fædat ac deturpat. Certe si pro Deo aliquis hanc tincturæ injuriam sustineret, magnam inde remunerationem accipiet. Sed quisquis ex superstitione gentilium id agit, non ei proficit ad salutem. Labbé Concil. Tom. VI. p. 1872. That is, “ We also have added that every faithful Christian ought to receive example of law, from the true believers ; and that if any thing of Pagan rite remain, it should be torn off, despised, and thrown away. For God has formed man fair in person and hue. But the Pagans, by diabolical instinct, have covered him with deep marks : as Prudentius says, ‘ He has covered the innocent ground with base stains.’ For he seems to injure the Lord, who stains and defiles his creatures. Certainly if any one receives the injury of this dye for the sake of God, he will receive a great reward therefor. But he who does it from the superstition of the gentiles, it will nothing avail to his salvation.” William of Malmesbury indeed tells us that the Angli painted themselves ; but he is singular in this account, unknown to Beda, and the elder writers : and, if they did, it seems most reasonable to impute this practice to that of the Piks, among whom they settled, as the manners of the most numerous people must have had much influence.

That the Old Scots had nothing to do in these invasions and possessions is clear. For in 447, we learn from Gildas and Beda, that they went to Ireland : nor did they return, as shewn in the next part, till 503. Even the Attacotti, or Dal-reudini,

reudini, the Old Scots of Argyle, were driven to Ireland at this time, as both Irish and Scottish writers confirm. This could only be in consequence of a quarrel between the Picts and Scots; and perhaps concerning the acquired territories. Beda fully instructs us that the Picts alone were concerned in these acquisitions; for he tells, *lib. I. c. 15. Tum subito inito ad tempus fœdere cum Pictis, quos longius jam bellando pepulerant, &c.* 'that Hengist and Horfa, having formed an alliance with the Picts, whom in the course of war they had driven somewhat back,' turned their arms against the Britons. As to Ethelwerd and William of Malmfbury, who for *Picts*, put *Scots*, no man will dream of setting the testimony of writers, who lived four centuries after Beda, against his. Tho indeed in their time, as after shewn, the very same people, anciently called Picts, were called Scots.

In 547, Ida founded the kingdom of Bernicia. The Pictish dominions, south of Forth, were far from the seat of sovereignty, and detached by that frith. Their inhabitants being remote from protection, seem willingly to have owned the royalty of Ida, an Angle, their own countryman; and having, for a century, enjoyed a rich country, were mollified enough to prefer a peaceful submission to the new monarch, and his little army. The kingdom of Bernicia, as is clear from Beda, extended up to the frith of Forth, on the northern bound: its western limits are not so clear. Beda tells that Candida Casa, or Whithern in Galloway, was in itⁱ; as was Abercorn on the Forth^k. Clydesdale was the kingdom of Strat Clyde. To the west of Strat Clyde, the kingdom of Bernicia perhaps never extended. Present Airshire and Renfrewshire never appear to have acknowledged

ⁱ V. 24. Pecthelm was bishop of Candida Casa, when Beda wrote. Malmfbury de gest. Pont. Angl. III. says Beada ult, the last bishop, was ordained 791.

^k Beda IV. 26.

the power of the Bernician, or Northumbrian kings. Beda gives no hint concerning that large tract of country. There is indeed a passage of Beda, which Smith, in his valuable edition, refers to the country now called Cunningham in Scotland; and has accordingly in his map marked that country as the Cuningum of Beda. This passage occurs, *lib. V. c. 13*, where Beda tells the vision of a man in Cuningum, who afterwards became a monk of Melrose: and it is *Erat autem vir, in regione Nordanhumbroꝝ quæ vocatur Incuningum, religiosam cum domo sua gerens vitam*; but the Saxon translation, by Alfred, has *Cununingum*. Yet Beda unfortunately gives no hint where this region was; and Smith's idea is a mere conjecture, for it may have been some district in the north of England. Names fluctuate and change; and it is dangerous to build on a name only, without any description: not to mention that the real name given by Beda, namely, *Incuningum*, is very different from *Cunningham*. The continuator of Beda tells us that, in the year 750, *Eadbertus campum Cyil cum aliis regionibus, suo regno addidit*, 'Eadbert added the field Cyil, with other regions, to his kingdom.' Milton¹ interprets this to be Kyle; and justly observes, from the same continuator, that in 740 Edbert, king of Northumberland, was occupied in war against the Piks; and that this acquisition shews it was successful. Now the event mentioned by Beda, as happening in the country called Incuningum, falls about the year 696, eleven years after the Piks regained their possessions from the Northumbrians. If therefore Cunningham, a country immediately on the north of Kyle, belonged to the Northumbrians still in 696, I cannot see how Edbert in 750 should acquire Kyle from the Piks. For the Piks did not, as appears, enlarge their possessions in Galloway, from

¹ Hist. Eng. p. 175.

685, till about 820, when they seized Candid^a Casa, and all the south, upon the decline of the Northumbrian kingdom, as William of Malm-sbury shews^m. At the same time it is very probable that the Piks of Cunningham and Kyle were subject to the Northumbrian crown in 696; and that, between that year and 740, they had thrown off the yoke: and that in 750, Edbert, the last warlike monarch of Northumbria, while in Anglie power, recovered Kyle, and perhaps Cunningham. In 756, we know that Edbert joined Ungust I. king of the Piks, in reducing Strathclyde; which seems to indicate that his domains bordered on that kingdom, as well as those of Ungust, and that they united their arms for reciprocal advantage. Now Edbert's kingdom did not border on Strathclyde on the east and north, territories belonging to the Piks; but certainly did on the south of Strathclyde, and, if he had Kyle and Cunningham, on the west. It seems certain that Ungust I. one of the bravest princes who ever held the Pikish sceptre, and who had just confirmed and enlarged his power by the conquest of Dalriada, would not have joined Edbert, if this monarch had conquered any part of his own territory, but would have turned his arms against him. Hence it appears that the Piks, against whom Edbert made war, were those of Galloway, who had assumed independence, both of the Northumbrian and Pikish crowns. Nor is there any dispute between Ungust I. and the Northumbrians, mentioned by any writer, English or Irish. As Beda, after mentioning the acquisitions of the Pikish crown in the south of Scotland 685, is supposed to speak of Cunningham, as subject to the Northumbrians in 696, and implies that all things remained in the same condition 731, when he closed his work; it might seem that, about 740, the Piks in Gal-

^m Gef. Pont. Ang. lib. III.

loway rebelled, that Edbert made war on them, and in 750 re-annexed them to his dominions. And that about 820, on the fall of the Northumbrian kingdom, they seized all Galloway, and became quite independant both of the English and Pikiſh kingdoms, till the Twelfth century. At the ſame time the word *addidit*, in the paſſage above adduced, is againſt this interpretation, and implies that Kyle was a new acquiſition: which induces me ſtill to hesitate if *Incuningum* be *Cunningham*; and the reader muſt excuse my writing uncertainly on an uncertain ſubject. Being quite ſeparated from the Pikiſh monarchy by the kingdoms of Strat-Clyde and Dalriada, the Piks of this province had their own chiefs, who were in time to be the powerful princes of Galloway. In an old charter, Irvinⁿ is ſaid to be in Galloway; and Jocelin, who compiled his life of Kentigern from two old lives, ſpeaks of the Piks in Galloway as a detached people, when Kentigern lived, or in the Sixth century. And even in the Twelfth century the princes of Galloway were only feudatory to the Scotiſh king^o.

EPOCH IV. In 685 the Pikiſh monarchy acquired that extent to the ſouth which it was ever after to hold. That year Egfrid king of Northumberland being defeated and ſlain by the Piks, a great revolution followed. Beda ſays, *Ex quo tempore ſpes cæpit et virtus regni Anglorum fluere, ac retro ſublapſa referri. Nam et Picti TERRAM POSSESSIONIS SUÆ, quam tenuerunt Angli; et Scotti qui erant in Britannia, et Britonum quoque pars nonnulla, LIBERTATEM receperunt, quam et hæcenus habent per annos circiter quadraginta ſex.* ‘From which time the hope and virtue of the kingdom of the Angli began to melt, and flow backward. For the Piks

ⁿ Goodal. Introd. Fordun. c. 10. Dalrymple’s Annal. Ao. 1160.

^o Dalrymple’s Annals Ao 1160. ex Chron. Stæ Crucis.

recovered

recovered the LAND OF THEIR POSSESSION, which the Angli had held: and the Scots who were in Britain, and a small part of the Britons, recovered their LIBERTY, which they hold still, being a space of about Forty-six years.' A memorable passage! Saint Oswald king of Northumberland, who had lived in Ireland and Pikland, before he ascended the throne in 634, carried the Northumbrian power to great height. Before his death in 642, after a reign of only eight years, he was, says Cuminus, *Imperator totius Britanniae*, 'Emperor of all Britain:' and according to Beda, *lib. III. c. 6. Denique omnes nationes et provincias Britanniae, quæ in quatuor linguas, id est, Britonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, Anglorum, divisæ sunt, in actione accepit.* 'He received in subjection all the nations and provinces of Britain, which are divided into four languages, that of the Britons, of the Piks, of the Scots, of the English.' Such were the happy fruits of a king's being a saint! The truth is, that the two predecessors of Saint Oswald had done what these writers did not approve, in extirpating the Christian religion from their dominions, which Oswald restored, and went to the other extreme, by calling in Irish churchmen, and giving religion every encouragement; himself a saint, whose miracles Beda relates at much length. Yet was Oswald certainly a victorious prince, as his restoring Northumbria to one great and powerful monarchy proves; and the above panegyrics, tho given by an Irish and an English churchman, in excess of gratitude and zeal, were not without grounds. He gained a bloody battle against Cædwalla, king of the Britons, or Welch: the Britons of Strat-Clyde were also subject to the kings of Northumbria, as the above passage of Beda, only applicable to them, indicates: as were their neighbours the Dalriadic Scots; two small kingdoms that required support against the Pikish power. Cuminus was a Scot who wrote in Hyona, about 657, when he was abbot of that place; and in that character, and

as a cotemporary of Oswald, is an infallible witness that the British Scots acknowledged the Imperial power of Saint Oswald. But as to the Piks, it is suspected the fable of the lion and the man might be applied. They had no painters of history. The assertion with regard to them is as ridiculous as with regard to the rest of England, whose six other kingdoms never acknowledged this emperor. That Pikland, a monarchy of four times the size of Northumbria, and impracticable to it's power, should have been subject to it's faintly king, is incredible. Oswald had been educated in Pikland and Ireland, as Beda tells; and among his favours to the Old Scots, or Irish, certainly was not so ungrateful to the Piks, as to usurp any title of authority over them. It is however extremely probable that the independent Piks of Galloway might join the British Scots, and Strat Clyde Britons, their neighbours, in acquiring the friendship of so powerful a prince as Oswald, by acknowledging him lord paramount. The panegyric given to him is a monkish rant, but not void of foundation.

There is a curious passage in the Appendix to Nennius, which is thought to have been written in the Tenth century, by a Northumbrian, as it relates to Northumbrian history. It says: 'This is the Egfrid who made war against his brother-in-law, the king of the Piks, by name Brudi, and fell with all the flower of his army, the Piks with their king being victorious. And the Saxons never sent a devouring tax-gatherer to exact tribute of the Piks, from the time of that war, which is called Guerchlumgaran P.' General expressions argue little;

† Echfrid ipse est qui fecit bellum contra fratruelem suum, qui erat Rex Pictorum nomine Bridei; et ibi corruit cum omni robore exercitus sui; et Picti cum rege suo victores extiterunt. Et nunquam addiderunt Saxones ambrohem, ut a Pictis vectigal exigent, a tempore istius belli: vocatur Guerchlumgaran. *Nen. App. c. 64. edit. Bertram. Ambro* means a devourer, see Du Cange; and here a greedy tax-gatherer.

little ; but the information here is particular, that the Northumbrian kings used to receive tribute from the Piks. A writer more anxious for the cause of the Piks, than for that of truth, might argue that only the southern Piks of Lothian paid this tribute : but there is room to believe that the king of the Piks paid this tribute to the Northumbrian monarchs from Oswald's time, 634, and that the above authorities of Cuminus and Beda are much to be credited. The Northumbrian kingdom, the greatest of the heptarchy, and the name of whose subjects, Angli, prevailed over all the rest, was superior to the Pikish in wealth and arts. The Saxon Annals say that Oswi brother of Oswald, and his successor, in 658, subdued all Mercia, and the greatest part of the Pikish nation. This accounts for the tribute, arising most probably from the conquests of Oswi, and not from the sanctity of Oswald.

Beda, in the above passage, says the Piks recovered their POSSESSIONS ; but the British Scots, and Strat Clyde Britons, their LIBERTY. In the dark ages, when Beda lived, it was thought that the Angli, Saxons, and Jutes, had actually peopled their possessions in Britain ! It was thought that Ida's 10,000 men had peopled a territory, whose inhabitants could not be much less than a million ! This ignorance is now matter of laughter. Beda means simply that the Pikish nation recovered their ancient property, *a land of their possession*, inhabited by themselves, tho long subject to another crown. But how far south did this possession extend ? It is clear from Beda, that in 731, when he wrote, Candida Casa, or Whitherne, was in the hands of the English. So Mailros on

Eddius, who about the year 720 wrote a curious life of St. Wilfrid, bishop of York, published by Gale in the first volume of his *Script. Hist. Angl.* mentions c. xix, a victory of king Egfrid in his first years, or about 674, over the *rebellious* Piks, who after remained subject till the year he lost his life. He speaks of the Piks as *gentes innumerae*, and says two rivers were filled with their slain.

the south bank of the Tweed seems also to have been^a. If therefore a line be drawn along the course of the Tweed from Berwick, and that of the river Etteric in a west direction to the river Stinfar, between Wigton and Airshire, it will form as accurate a bound, as can be given in a debatable march, of the Pikish and Bernician possessions from 685, till 793, when the Danes first invaded Northumbria. About which time, or soon after, during the confusions of the Danish settlers in Northumbria, which lasted near two centuries, the independent Piks of Galloway extended their possessions into present Wigton and Kircudbright shires, parts of old Galloway, while those on the east seized present Roxburgh and Dumfries shires, the present southern limits of Scotland : as compactly and naturally bounded by the Tweed and Esk, on the East and West; and mountains of Cheviot in the middle.

In 756, Ungust, king of the Piks, and Edbert king of Northumbria, joined their arms, and besieged Alclyde, or Dunbarton, capital of the kingdom of Strat Clyde, which surrendered on terms of tribute to both kings, as would seem. But the Britons retained possession as elsewhere shewn.

The Northumbrians naturally gave the name of Angli to all their subjects, tho in fact Piks, as Beda gives repeatedly the same name of Angli to the very people, who, he tells us expressly, were Saxons, or Jutes. Thus Beda says the Forth divided the Angli from the Piks, that is, the Anglic kingdom of Northumbria from the Pikish. But that part of Bernicia which adjoined to the Pikish kingdom was especially called *Provincia Pictorum*, and its inhabitants Piks, even while it

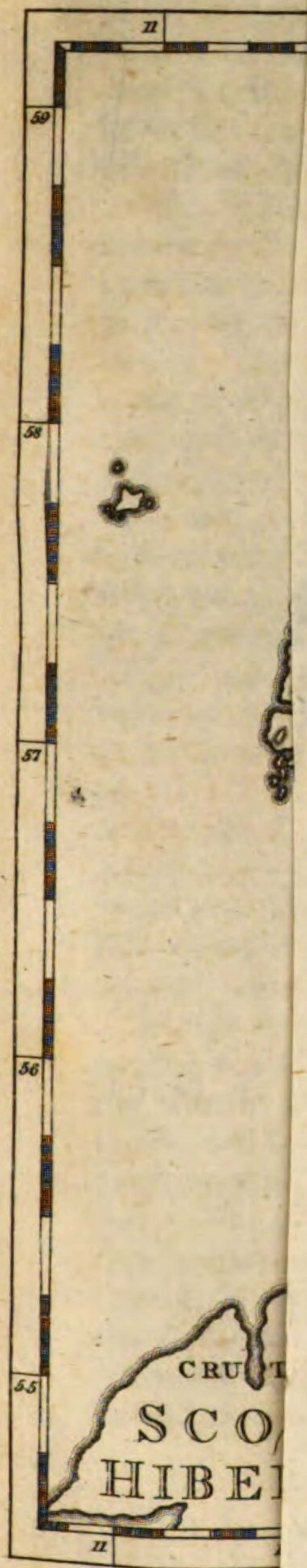
^a Beda IV. 27, V. 13. In his life of St. Cuthbert, Beda mentions *terra Pictorum Nedsair*, or, as other MSS. *Niduari*, to which the saint went in a vessel from Carlisle. This appears to have been on the river Nid.

was under the Bernician monarchs, as is clear from Beda^r. Trumwin, the biſhop of theſe Piks, reſided at Abercorn, nine miles weſt from Edinburgh. That the Bernician or Northumbrian kings never had any territory beyond the firſt of Forth, is certain from Beda, and all the ancient writers. The Piks, over whom Trumwin was biſhop, were the Piks of Lothian; as the biſhop of Whitherne preſided over thoſe ſouth parts of Galloway, which were ſubject to the Angli. But of this in the chapter of Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory. The hiſtory of Northumbria is known to be very obſcure. It is highly probable that Ida's acquisition did not extend over Lothian, the weſtern part of which was the frontier province of the ancient Pikiſh kingdom, and main entrance to it; ſo that it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that tract was long and warmly conteſted by the Pikiſh and Northumbrian monarchs. Therefore it ſeems to have been a late addition to the later kingdom; and being ſpecially and more lately won from the Pikiſh monarchy, it was called a Pikiſh province, and it's inhabitants Piks. Roger Hoveden, in his account of the battle of the ſtandard 1138, calls thoſe people *Lodonenses*, or of Lothian, whom other ancient writers call *Picti*. Roger of Cheſter, mentioning Edinburgh, ſays it was *in terra Pictorum*, in the land of the Piks. A ridge of hills running thro Mid Lothian is ſtill called Pentland Hills, as the firſt to the North of Scotland is called Pentland firſt; of which above.

To return for a moment to Galloway: the hiſtory of that country, anciently ſo noted, is rather obſcure. The Piks, in pouring from Caledonia down to the Humber, preferred the fertile provinces of the eaſt to the weſtern hills. When Ida came in and founded the kingdom of Bernicia, A. C. 547, ſome of the Piks, preferring the roving independence of mountaineers, ſeem to have retired to the

^r IV. 26. Carta ap. Langhorne, Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 236.
weſtern

western parts of Galloway. The duration of the kingdom of Strat Clyde may seem remarkable, for it lay in a plain and fertile country, surrounded by hills, so that it might be expected to have fallen a prey to surrounding enemies. But this very circumstance of it's being between two powerful foes, the Piks and Angli, must necessarily have protected it, and it did not submit till Piks and Angli joined against it in 756. Till the Angli came in 547, the Piks were occupied in the rich and fertile provinces of England, as we have seen. Even in the mountains of Argyle, they allowed the British Scots to re-settle in 503. Alclud had been well fortified by Theodosius; and the strength of the capital naturally defended the state. Around it the most warlike Britons, those of Valentia the frontier, were assembled; and were so strong that it required the joint armies of Piks and Angli to bring them to terms. These circumstances considered, we need not wonder that this small state, like many others, long existed among powerful neighbours. The Piks of Galloway lay beyond it on the south-west among numerous mountains; but, contented with self-defence, they were not powerful enough to attempt the conquest of Strat Clyde. These Piks were themselves sometimes tributary to the Northumbrian monarchs, whose dominions extended all along their southern frontier. William of Malmbury and Roger of Chester testify, that upon the decay of the Northumbrian kingdom, about the year 820, Whitherne and these southern parts were taken from the Angli by the Piks. And it is likely that about the same time they re-annexed to their domains present Roxburgh and Dumfries shires. The name of Galloway also occurs in an Irish province Galway. The etymology of names is altogether foolish and uncertain; but it may just be hinted that the name of Galloway is unknown till the eleventh century, till when, and after, the Irish churchmen were the only



only writers in Pikland. And as this name occurs in Ireland, it may be supposed Irish. *Gall* implies an alien; as the Galwegians, long an independent people, were to the present Scots. It is observable that in Galway of Ireland there were also Crutheni, or Piks^s.

The Wild Scots of Galloway are remarkable in our old writers and poets. The people of Carrick were noted, two or three centuries ago, for speaking Irish, which was spoken by none of their neighbours. They seem to have past from the opposite shore of Ireland by degrees, as many Scots have since past into Ireland, but when, it is impossible, and of no moment, to determine. The rest of that vast tract, anciently called Galloway, speak the broad Scottish, or Piko-Gothic, tho with a peculiar accent, which is as likely to be the Buchan, or genuine Scandinavian dental pronunciation, as any. Those used to the Irish accent think it Irish; those used to the Welch think it Welch. The names over Galloway, save a few in Carrick, are purely Gothic. Cunningham, the country of Cunnyngs, as our old poets call rabbits. Kyle, Beda's Continuator calls Campus Cyil: it may be from a person's name, from the old German Kel, *cavus*, (Wachter), or the Scandinavian Kil, a narrow angle, (Ihre).

It may be proper, before closing this chapter, to give a hint or two concerning the settlements of the Piks in Ireland. Mr. O'Connor, in his map, marks two colonies of Crutheni, the one in the northern extremity of Ireland, the other in Galway. From Probus, in his life of St. Patrick, and Adomnan, in that of St. Columba, it is also clear that there were considerable settlements of the Crutheni, or Piks, in Ireland. The Pikish Chronicle, as we have seen, dates their settlement in the time of Brudi I. or about 210, which

^s O'Connor's Dissertations.

seems very probable. The extent and history of these settlements are unknown, but they must have been pretty considerable. Adomnan mentions Echuvissaid, a king of the northern Crutheni. The Welch writers call them *Gwydbyl Phictiaid*, or Irish Piks. Price, in his description of Wales, tells from Welch annals, that about 540, these Irish Piks, and the Irish Scots, ravaged the shores of Cardigan; and then the ile of Maun, whence they were driven by Caswallon Lhawhir, or Caswallon with the long hand, who slew Serigi, their king, with his own hand.

The Annals of Tighernac, and of Ulster, have many notices concerning these Crutheni, or Piks in Ireland. The first I find is at the year 562, 'The battle of Moindor Lothair, upon the Cruthens, by the Nells of the north [of Ireland]. Bædan, son of Kin, with two other Cruthen chiefs, fought against the rest of the Cruthens. The cattle and booty of the Eolargs were given to them of Tirconnel and Tirowen, conductors, for their leading, as wages.' Next is 628, 'Battle of Fedha Evin, in which Maolcaich, son of Skanlan, king of the Cruthens, was victor, the Dalriads fell with Kenneth Keir, their king.' At 643 is 'the death of Loken, son of Finin, king of the Cruthens.' At 645, 'the wounding of Scannal, son of Bec, son of Frachra, king of the Cruthens.'

Ware, in his notes to the Fragments of St. Patrick, says, "Præter Pictos Albanienfes, qui in Annalibus Ultonienfibus nonnunquam Picti, fed plerumque Cruithnei, appellantur, erant et olim Picti quidem Hibernici, qui Cruithnei etiam vocabantur. Horum regionem, in parte boreali Ultoniæ fitam, Probus Cruthenorum regionem nuncupat. De Pictis Hibernicis, *Y Gwydbil Phictiaid* a Britannis dictis, vide Humf. Luid in Anglica fua Walliæ Defcr. p. 14. 15." And fee Usher, Ant. Eccl. Brit. p. 302, edit. 1687, who rightly obferves that Adomnan diftinguifhes the *Picti* from the *Crutheni*. The Annals of Ulfter, in Latin parts, always ufe *Picti*, for Piks, and *Crutheni* for Irish Piks; but in Irish parts the context only can mark the difference, both being called *Cruithne*.

At

At 665, 'death of Maolduin Eoch Iarlach, king of the Cruthens.' At 667, 'War of Feroti, between Ulster and the Cruthens.' At 680 is mention of Dungal, son of Scannal king of the Cruthens. At 681, 'War of Rathmor at Maghlin against the Britons, where fell Cathaso, son of Maolduin, king of the Cruthens.' In 691, Dalriada was wasted by the Cruthens, and people of Ulster. In 707 Canis Cuarain, king of the Cruthens, was killed. In 709, Fiachra was slain by the Cruthens. In 730 was a battle between Dalriada and the Cruthens, at Marbuilg, where the Cruthens were conquered. In 748, Cathaso, son of Aillila, king of the Cruthens, was killed at Ruhbehech. In 773, Flahrus, son of Fiachra, king of the Cruthens died. In 807, is the last mention of the Cruthens, who vanished beneath the Danish power, and being in the north of Ireland first felt it's rage. All the above dates may be placed too soon by three or four years, as usual in these Annals, to which the dates are affixed by a late hand.

C H A P T E R X.

The Pikiſh Language.

EVERY one, who has been in North Britain, knows that the Lowlanders of that country are as different from the Highlanders, as the English are from the Welch. The race is ſo extremely diſtinct as to ſtrike all at firſt ſight. In perſon the Lowlanders are tall and large, with fair complexions, and often with flaxen, yellow, and red hair, and blue eyes; the grand features of the Goths, in all ancient writers. The Highlanders are generally diminutive, if we except ſome of Norwegian deſcent; with brown complexions, and almoſt always with black curled hair, and dark eyes. In mind and manners the diſtinction is as marked. The Lowlanders are acute, induſtrious, ſenſible, erect, free. The Highlanders ſtupid, indolent, fooliſh, fawning, ſlaviſh. The former in ſhort have every attribute of a civilized people. The latter are abſolute ſavages: and, like Indians and Negroes, will ever continue ſo. For a people, which has continued ſavage from their origin till now, will infallibly remain ſo till the race be loſt by mixture. Their ſavage indolence forbids all ideas of cultivation. Their want of induſtry is the cauſe that they have no towns: their want of towns, the cauſe that they have no induſtry. Theſe cauſes act reciprocally and infinitely. If

towns

towns were built for them, they would not inhabit them. In vain do we dream of building towns in their territories. If peopled with Highlanders they will be in ruins in half a century. Norway is not a superior country to the Highlands of Scotland. But what a difference ! The one swarms with industry and towns : the other is a desert. Had all these Celtic cattle emigrated five centuries ago, how happy had it been for the country ! All we can do is to plant colonies among them ; and by this, and encouraging their emigration, try to get rid of the breed.

The Lowlanders amount to two thirds of the inhabitants of Scotland : and, if all history were utterly extinguished, we should know to a certainty from their persons, manners, and language, that they came from the opposite continent. Of that continent the south of Norway is by much the nearest part to Scotland ; and plain sense would lead us to conclude they came from thence. Language is of all others the surest mark of the origin of nations. Had the Lowlanders of Scotland been originally Celts, either Gael, or Cumri, no change, or chance, could have introduced the Gothic tongue among them. In vain do some of our superficial writers dream that they received their tongue from their southern neighbours : and to such a degree has their ignorance gone, as to think that, when Malcolm III. married an English princess, the English became the court, and then the common language ! A language pass from a score of people to more than a million ! If any foreigner of learning happens to peruse this work, he will be apt to think that i have created a shadow to fight with. But the case is real : and such is the state of learning at present in Scotland ! That the Lowlanders of Scotland were not Celts, who received their speech from their southern neighbours, requires no proof ; as no such matter ever happened in any period, or country. The

Celts are, like all savages, most tenacious of their speech and manners. In Ireland, where there were numerous settlements of English, the English speech was so far from prevailing, that ordinances were obliged to be given^a against adoption of the Celtic dress and language, which were prevailing over the English; as those of the most numerous people always do. The people of the plains of Ireland speak the Gaëlic, as well as those of the mountains; and in the most mountainous part of Ireland, the north, English, and Scotch, are chiefly spoken, while Celtic is the speech of the southern and midland plains. If such be the case with Ireland, a country conquered by the English, and widely colonized by them; what must have been the case in Scotland, a country unconquered, and uncolonized, and ever inimical to England, till the happy junction of the Crowns? Had the Lowlanders of Scotland been Celts, they would have viewed the English language with utter abhorrence and aversion. But this need not be insisted on; as, putting all history aside, we have infallible marks that they are not Celts but Goths.

More plausible, tho foolish to excess, is the opinion of those who think the Lowlanders of Scotland real Saxons from England. Such say that the southern parts belonged to the Northumbrian kingdom, and were peopled with Saxons (they mean Angles), along with the rest of that kingdom. That this could not be the case is clear: for Ida's army did not exceed 10,000 men, of which not one quarter could be settled in

^a Irish Statutes; and see Spenser's State of Ireland. Lynche, in his *Cambrensis Eversus*, says, 'Barnab. Rich, Descr. Hib. p. 34, author est decem Anglos citius Hibernorum se moribus accommodare, quam unum Hibernum Anglorum ritus amplecti.' The cause is evident, for the indolent life of a savage has supreme charms for the vulgar, who in advanced society are forced to work for subsistence, but in uncivilised need only hunt, or steal.

the south of Scotland, if any settled there at all. The Lothians are by Beda called *Provincia Pictorum*; and Trumwin, whose see was there, was *Episcopus Pictorum*. When the Piks, in 685, recovered all the south of Scotland, Beda says they regained, or re-annexed to their crown, *terram possessionis suæ*, ‘the land of their possession;’ which shews it was always possessed by them, tho subject to the Northumbrian kings. In all events the phrase positively forbids any interpretation, that, after 685, the Angli had any footing there. But this is vain argumentation, for it has been shewn above that the Piks, a Gothic swarm, long confined by Roman power, as soon as that mound was removed, burst like a torrent over the fertile plains of England, and peopled that country down to the Humber; tho their name, like that of the Belgæ, was lost in that of the new invaders, long before Beda wrote. In present Renfrew, and Lanerkshire, it is clear that the Angles never had any footing. No towns, or possessions, there are ever mentioned by Beda. In Airshire the Piks of Galloway, mentioned by Jocelin, lived: the kingdom of Strat Clyde spread over the rest. But so gross is our ignorance, that the Piks, so remarkable in the Roman page, and in that of Beda and the other early writers, are totally forgotten by our scribblers, who do not read to discover facts, as the antiquaries of other countries do, but are contented to sleep in their mental night, and dream dreams. The dominion of a country is totally different from the population of it. The inhabitants of Scotland, south of the friths, must amount to half a million; and it is questioned, if ancient population was greater than modern. But no one can ever imagine that a quarter of Ida’s army, or 2,500 men, could have peopled that tract in two centuries, or before Beda’s time. The question is, who were then the inhabitants, among whom

those 2,500 men were as a drop in the sea? It has been shewn, from Gildas and Beda, that they were Piks.

But how came the Gothic language to be spoken all along the Eastern Lowlands of Scotland, up to it's extremity? This puzzles our pseudo-antiquists. One^b will have it that Saxon merchants settled there, and so the thing came about by God's permission. What a pretty *bull*! See what it is to have Celtic intelligence! Saxon merchants! Merchants introduce a language! To answer such nonsense, would be to insult the reader's understanding. Others, not quite so absurd, say that, at the Norman conquest, many of the English fled into Scotland, where they introduced their language. But those English were people of rank; and it is known, that French was then the language spoken by such in England before the Conquest^c; so, if by a special miracle, a hundred or two had spread their speech among a million of the common people, that speech would have been the French. And, after all, king Dovenald Ban, 1093, obliged all these foreigners to leave the kingdom^d.

But there are two passages of ancient English historians which deserve especial notice.

The first is of Simeon of Durham, who wrote about 1164. He says, that after Malcolm III. had ravaged the English frontiers in 1070, the prisoners were so many, 'that Scotland is filled with male and female servants of English race; so that, even at this day, i will not say no little village, but not even a hovel can be found without them^e.' But supposing these prisoners to amount

^b Mr. Macpherson, Introd. to Hist. of Brit. and Irel. p. 91.

^c Warton's Hist. of English poetry, Vol. I.

^d Dalrymple's Annals.

^e Simeon Dun. Col. 201. sub Anno 1070. 'Repleta est ergo Scotia servis et ancillis Anglici generis; ita ut, etiam usque hodie, nulla non dico villula, sed nec domuncula, sine his valeat inveniri.'

to 100,000, that number could not have introduced a language among a million of people; for, if a language is perpetuated, it is an infallible sign, that those who speak it are the most numerous: so that more than a million of prisoners would have been required to effectuate this. A maid, or man servant, in every hut, must have spoken as the family did; but no man can suppose that the family assumed the speech of it's servant. When the Franks poured into Gaul, and the other Goths into Italy, Spain, &c. the people were to them as twenty to one, and the speech of the old inhabitants overcame of course. In such instances the language of the inferior people prevails, from their numbers: but the case is widely different here. These English captives, as such, were for the time inferior to their masters; but their numbers were comparatively so few, that it is impossible their speech could prevail. Inferior in numbers, as in situation, their language would rather be matter of aversion and derision, than of imitation: and no doubt, at the very first, they tried to accommodate even their dialect to that of their masters, in order to abandon an odious distinction, and to conciliate favour. That prisoners should introduce a language into a country, would be a phænomenon in history, totally unknown in ancient or modern times, and cannot be admitted even in theory, far less in fact.

The other passage is extremely curious, and singular. It is of William of Newburgh, who wrote about the year 1200. He says, 'There was in the army of William, king of Scots [1173], a great number of English; for the towns and boroughs of the Scottish kingdom are known to be inhabited by the English. The Scots, taking the occasion of the king's absence, revealed their innate hatred against them, which they had dissembled for fear of the king; and slew as many as they could find, those who could escape flying to the
6 royal

royal castles ^f. Malcolm III. 1056, and Edgar, 1098, were married to English ladies, as were Alexander I. and David I. These princes had a natural and laudable favour for the English; and, being sensible of their superiority in the arts of life, had apparently used all means to induce them to settle in their kingdom, and forward these arts there. The knowledge of these arts had gradually passed from the south: from Italy to France, from France to England, and so from England to Scotland. In the countries more immediately Gothic borough towns are of late origin. In Germany they are not older than the reign of Henry the Falconer, or about 930. In France, boroughs or corporation towns were introduced by Louis the Gros, about 1120. But it is to be suspected that they passed from Germany to England. At any rate, borough towns and corporations are not older in England than the eleventh century at most: and they seem almost instantly to have passed from thence into Scotland. The Scottish monarchs, with a patriotic view of advancing the interests of their kingdom, gave boroughs with due privileges to English merchants, tradesmen and mechanics, in like manner as the English did to French and Flemish. These towns and boroughs must be carefully distinguished from the old towns, which even in England were no better than villages, without any privileges or corporations whatever. As the English monarchs gave such boroughs to the Flemings, and other foreigners, for the advantage of mechanics and commerce; so did the Scottish to the English. The Danes and Swedes are, in like manner, indebted for their early

^f Lib. II. c. 34. 'Erat in Gulielmi Scotorum regis exercitu ingens Anglorum numerus: regni enim Scottici oppida et burgi ab Anglis habitari noscuntur. Occasione ergo temporis Scotti innatum, sed metu regio dissimulatum, in illos odium declarantes, quotquot incidebant peremerunt; refugientibus in munitiones regias ceteris qui evadere potuerunt.'

boroughs,

boroughs, commerce and arts, to German merchants from the Hanse, and other towns of the north of Germany: and these advantages were unknown to Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, till the Thirteenth century, for such was their gradual progress northward. Now these burghs and towns, inhabited by the English, could never exceed Fifty; tho' half that number will appear nearer the matter to those who know how few such were in Scotland till the time of the Stuarts. And any one who knows how small even Edinburgh, the capital, was before that time, will think that the medium of 1000 English to each town will exceed, and not fall short of, the truth. Say then there were 50,000 English inhabitants of burghs and towns, and 100,000 English captives used as servants in Scotland, in the Twelfth century, the number will be 150,000. But even imagining this prodigious number, which every cool enquirer will allow to be in all probability double the truth, their language would in that of a million, or 1,100,000 people, the real amount of the Scottish Lowlanders, be as nothing. These Lowlanders, far from even imitating their language, would detest it as foreign and inimical, as this very passage of Newburgh too plainly proves; and the English would rather abandon their dialect as an odious distinction, than spread it thro' the country. In England the French and Flemings introduced no language, but on the contrary soon lost their own. In Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Germans made no alteration on the language. An author would be regarded as of unsound mind in those countries, if he were to advance so weak a dream. The analogy as to Scotland is positive, direct, and mathematical.

It has been said that some Danes may have settled in the east parts of Scotland, and assisted in bringing in the Gothic tongue. But this is not only *gravis dictum*, without one shadow of the smallest authority, but can be shewn to be absolutely

lutely false. The Norwegians, along with the Orkneys, held Caithness, Sutherland, and a part of Ross, for some time. Sigurd added these domains to his Earldom of Orkney, about 920; and they were held by his successors for three or four centuries: the inhabitants of these tracts are mingled Norwegians and Piks; tho these northern parts, being separated by Murray Frith from the Lowlands of Scotland, and adjoining to the Celtic part, the Gaëlic tongue has lately gained much ground there. But that any Norwegians, or Danes, ever settled in the parts south of Murray Frith, there is not a shadow of authority. The Moravians were Piks, as Fordun tells, lib. II. c. 30. During the early Pikish period of our history, the Danes and Norwegians appear to have regarded Pikland as possessed by their own people, and do not seem to have molested it. In the Ninth century they began their incursions; but were constantly repelled by the Pikish inhabitants, a people as martial as themselves, and who alone, of the surrounding nations, seem to have matched them in arms. They were always regarded as the bitterest enemies, and could never effectuate any settlement whatever; far less settle in such numbers as to make any alteration on the language of the country.

*except those on
the north and
west abovementioned*

As those who have travelled in Scandinavia think all our Lowlanders, Scandinavians, from identity of speech and manners; so, from a great resemblance in these matters, those who have travelled in Germany think them Germans. But the nearest part of Germany is twice as far from Scotland, as the south of Scandinavia; and to think that any German colony arrived in, or after, the Roman period of our history, can be shewn to be subversive of all historic evidence concerning North Britain. Our language has many German words, as the German and Scandinavian are but dialects of the same tongue. We have old Ger-
man

man words not to be found in the Scandinavian ; and old Scandinavian not to be found in the German. But of this presently.

In short, to wind up the confutation of these superficial opinions, advanced merely because their assertors had not examined the matter, it is not the embroidery, or the sewing of the robe, which must be attended to ; but the cloth of which it is made. These adventitious settlements, granting them all for the sake of argument, would, if the body of the people had been Celtic, have been lost in the number ; and would have assumed the Celtic tongue, as the Belgic, Pikish, and Danish settlers in Ireland ; and as the English themselves, tho a numerous and conquering people, would have also done, had not special laws been made against it. Language depends on the universal population of a country ; not on scattered settlements of adventitious people. Our poor Scottish antiquists are to this day enemies of the Piks ; and would allow them nothing if they could. It is their trade to fight against all authorities, all truth, and common sense. On this occasion, being really ignorant of that grandest feature of our history that the Piks were a Gothic people, they have blundered in utter darkness ; and had recourse to absurd ingenuity, instead of reading every thing that could be redd on the subject, in order to find facts. One would have imagined that some one of them might have blundered on the truth : but in fact they have, like Falstaf, a natural alacrity in sinking ; and, in antiquarian matters, it is an infallible rule that truth can never be discovered by ignorance.

It has been amply shewn that the Piks were a Gothic people ; and the inhabitants of all present Scotland and it's iles. The Gaël, or Celts in Scotland, do not now amount to above one quarter of the people. The Lowlanders of Scotland amount to two thirds of it's inhabitants. Of the
other

other Third being Highlanders, and people of the Iles, a great part consists of Goths, tho now using the Celtic tongue. For the Old Scots, who came into Argyle, in 503, were from the north of Ireland; and were mixt with Crutheni, or Piks, inhabitants of these parts, tho their tongue had been lost in the surrounding Celtic. In the Hebrud Iles, and in Argyle, and the north of Scotland, the Norwegians were lords, for four centuries from the ninth: and they, in like manner, lost their speech among the more numerous Celts. When these parts returned to the Scottish crown, the inhabitants remained as before. The chief families in the Highlands are all of Norwegian extract. The Celtic *Mac* is nothing: it is the name itself we must judge from. Thus the Mac Leods are so called from Liod Earl of Orkney: the Mac Sweyns, Mac Niels, with a score of others, all bear the *Mac*, with a Norwegian name. Even when the second name is Celtic, it was often taken by a Norwegian to gratify his subjects, or bestowed by a Highland bard; as the Mac Donalds are known to be direct male descendants of Reginald, Earl of Orkney. These Highland bards, it is well known, will alter a plain Gothic name to a Celtic one, in a twinkling; and are very ready in dirtying people with this honour. A part of the Iles still speaks the Gothic tongue, namely, the whole Orkney and Shetland Iles. The other parts speak Gaëlic; but of them a great part are Goths, tho their speech be lost in that of the most numerous people.

There

There are in Scotland, and it's iles, of
people by the latest and surest cal-
culations about 1,600,000

Lowlanders upward of two thirds, or
about 1,100,000

Highlanders and Ilanders 500,000

Of whom the people of the
Orkney and Shetland Iles,
all using the Gothic tongue,
may be 30,000

Piks and Norwegians of Ross,
Sutherland, and Caithness,
the Hebud Iles, &c. &c.
now using the Celtic, about 70,000

100,000

Real Gaël, or Celts in Scotland, be- }
ing a quarter of it's people, } 400,000

These Gaël are mostly slavish and poor, as their
savage indolence must necessarily make them.
The better ranks in the Highlands and Western
Iles are almost all of Norwegian race, which is in
fact the very same with the Pikish.

To proceed to a few remarks on the Pikish
tongue, let us begin with observing, that the Gothic
Language divides itself into Two Grand Branches,
namely, The GERMAN, and The SCANDINAVIAN.
Of these the German deserves the superiority on
many accounts: 1. The Scythians must have be-
gun the population of Germany long before they
entered Scandinavia, and they passed thro a part
of ancient Germany, on the east, before they went
over to Scandinavia. That part of them, which
peopled the vast extent of Germany, had arrived
at it's western extremity as soon, if not sooner
than those who peopled only the southern tract of
Scandinavia, had gained it's western extremity.

2. The

2. The Baſternæ, who peopled Scandinavia, were only held a fifth part of the Germans. 3. The German, of courſe the more ancient dialect, alſo proves this antiquity & by it's greater reſemblance of the Aſiatic tongues; as the old Scythic, or Gothic, was an Aſiatic tongue. 4. This ſuperior antiquity of the German alſo appears from this, that it bears far more reſemblance to the Gothic of Ulphilas, the genuine ancient Scythic, than the Scandinavian does. 5. We have written monuments of the German, from the Eighth and Ninth centuries till now; but none of the Scandinavian before the Twelfth century. 6. The many countries peopled from Germany, namely, France, England, Italy, and Spain, in a great degree, render the German a more important and intereſting dialect than that of Scandinavia, from whence only Scotland, Denmark, and a few iſles, were peopled.

From the ancient German dialect of the Gothic ſpring, 1. The Tudeſque. 2. Francic. 3. Belgic. 4. Anglo-Belgic, or, as we call it, Anglo-Saxon. 5. Swabian. 6. Swiſs. 7. Friſic. 8. Modern German. 9. Modern Dutch. 10. Modern Engliſh.

From the ancient Scandinavian dialect of the Gothic ſpring, 1. Swediſh, which reſembles the Icelandic, or oldeſt Scandinavian, more than the Daniſh. 2. Norwegian. 3. Pikiſh. 4. Daniſh, now much mingled with German. 5. Icelandic; which, from the very remote and detached ſituation of the country, has been kept the pureſt of all, and is juſtly eſteemed the ſtandard of the Scandinavian tongue. 6. Modern Scotiſh, or corrupted Pikiſh, as ſpoken in Angus, Mearns, Buchan, &c.

Theſe two Grand Dialects have always been different, as is well ſhewn by the learned author of

& See a learned and accurate Memoir of Mr. Tercier, ſhewing that, of all European tongues, the German preſerves moſt veſtiges of it's antiquity, in Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcr. Tome xxiv.

the *Dissertatio de lingua Danica*, to be found at the end of Gunlaug's Saga, *Hafniæ*, 1775, 4to. The Scandinavian was in the middle ages termed Danish; then Norse, as Norwegian; and laterly Icelandic, because now found in the greatest purity in that remote island. An old writer^h says that William I. duke of Normandy, when he heard Heriman, a Saxon general, speak Danish, asked in admiration, *quis eum Daciscæ regionis linguam, Saxonibus inexpertem, docuerit?* 'Who had taught him the Danish tongue, unused by the Saxons?' He who enquires into the origins of the English tongue will find them in Flanders and Germany: but those of the Scottish must be traced in Scandinavia.

In both these Grand Dialects of the Gothic, nouns and verbs are declined and inflected by changing the terminations, as in the Greek and Latin. The Modern English, and the Modern Scottish, form the sole exceptions, being changed only by prepositions and auxiliary verbs. This singularity of these tongues passed from the French to the English at the Norman conquest; and from the French and English to the Scottish.

A curious distinction between the German dialect and the Scandinavian is, that the later has, properly speaking, no letter P in it. Not above twenty words begin with P; and they are all names of foreign places, or real foreign words, as Petland, so called by the inhabitants; Papa, a foreign word, father, applied to a priest; and the like. And even in these, P is pronounced V, Vetland, Vava. The Scandinavian has also no W at all. The Runic alphabet wants E, G, P, Q, W, V, X, Z. On the contrary the Gothic of Ulphilas has both P and W; as have also the Anglo-Belgic, of which so many noble specimens remain; and the Tudesque. These tongues have also E, G, P, Q, W, Z. The later Anglo-

^h Dudo Gest. Norm. apud D. C. Iesne.

Belgic has X and V. But V in particular, which supplies both P and W in the Scandinavian, is unknown to the Gothic of Ulphilas; Tudesque; and oldest Anglo-Belgic. The Scandinavian has also no C, which is a superfluous letter in every language having *k* and *s*; and no Q, X, or Z; for *q*, it uses *kv*; for X, *ks*; for *z*, *sd*. The Scandinavian has but one supernumerary letter, þ, TH; the Gothic of Ulphilas has G, or Y, open, thus written in Anglo-Belgic small letter *z*, and in our Scottish *z*; which being the identic form of Z has made our ignorant printers of old poetry totally confound our language by putting Z in it's place instead of Y. Ulphilas has also Ψ, TH; *u*, or QU, which begins so many words in old Scottish; and X, or CH. But the total want of P and W may be looked on as the grand literal distinction, between the Scandinavian and the German dialects of the Gothic. And this seems a remarkable instance of the effect of climate upon language; for P and W are the most open of the labial letters; and V is the most shut. The former requires an open mouth: the later may be pronounced with the mouth almost closed, which rendered it an acceptable substitute in the cold clime of Scandinavia, where the people delighted, as they still delight, in gutturals and dentals. The climate rendered their organs rigid and contracted; and cold made them keep their mouths as much shut as possible.

Hence also another grand distinction between the German and the Scandinavian; namely, the length of the words in the former, and their shortness in the later dialect. Long words, as a late author very justly observes, are infallible proofs of an original and ancient tongue. In time by frequent use, and that desire of saying much with little effort, which is so natural in a cold climate especially, words are contracted by degrees. The words of Ulphilas are as long, or longer, than
 2 the

the German, or Tudesque. The Anglo-Belgic words are shorter. The Scandinavian shorter still.

The Piks, being divided from Scandinavia by a wide sea, and being planted in North Britain, in an early period, when navigation was only undertaken for settlements, or ravages, and not to maintain intercourse, they were of course quite detached from their progenitors. At first the Cumri were their only neighbours in the island; but fear kepted them at a distance; and the Cumri, who only knew them as ravagers, could have little or no intercourse with them. About 412, the Southern Piks were converted to Christianity by Cumraig missionaries; and it is likely that a few Latin and Cumraig words might now appear among them. About 430, the Piks, bursting from the mountains to which the Roman power had long confined them, poured over the plains, driving the Cumri to the Western shores, and peopled the country down to the Humber. The Belgic Britons were now their neighbours; and the Piks, softened by a fertile country, would soon begin, in their southern settlements, to adopt the arts and manners of that more polished people. With these arts and manners, many new words would creep in, from the German dialect of their civilized neighbours. The Cumri, their old neighbours, were a barbarous pastoral people; the Belgæ, even in Cæsar's time, an agricultural people; and now polished as Roman provincials with every elegance and luxury. These Piks, who were divided by the Wall of Gallio from their brethren, would naturally regard themselves as detached from their own kingdom, and as inhabitants of a new. The Belgæ being the most numerous people, their speech would prevail as such among the detached Piks; the more especially as it was but a superior dialect of their own tongue. When Ida arrived with his Angles, a

century after, the progress of the Belgic language among these Piks would of course have been great.

When Beda wrote in 731, or about three centuries after this southern settlement of the Piks, he informs us there were Four tongues spoken in Britain, namely, English, Pikish, British or Cumraig, and Scottish or Irish. We see from this, that, as the name of Angli was given by Beda to all the possessors of South Britain, save the Welch, this speech which Beda calls Anglic was in fact the Belgic, with a new name. *Nomina non mutant rem.* Beda calls the Jutes of Kent and the south; Saxons of the middle parts; and real Angli of the north, all Angli promiscuously. And it is clear from him, that one speech had now prevailed among them all; because Jutes, Saxons, Angles, were but as drops in the sea of Belgæ, and their language would vanish in less than a century. That this speech, which Beda calls Anglic, was not Anglic, is known to all. It is improperly called Saxon by the learned; but all grant, and this very name implies, that it was not the Scandinavian dialect of the Gothic, as it must have been, had it been Anglic, from Anglen, a Danish province; but was the German dialect of the Gothic, Saxon by name, but in fact Belgic. Cædmon wrote in it in this century, when Beda lived; and Alfred and others after; so that we can judge of it perfectly. It is German-Gothic; and not Scandinavian-Gothic. The Saxon was in fact German-Gothic, as well as the Belgic. They were the same tongue; but it is the real propriety of the name that is contended for. After, who wrote the century after Beda, but lived among the West Saxons, as Beda among the Angles, calls this Anglic of Beda repeatedly Saxon. We have no writer who lived among the Jutes, else we should have it called Jutic. The fact is, all the settlers spoke this language in a century or so after their arrival; and of course all gave it their own

own name. This Belgic must have, long before Beda's time, made great progress among the Piks of Northumbria, from their detached situation, from their fewness when compared with the Belgæ, and other causes above specified. Less than three centuries will, in such situations, totally change a language; much more alter one dialect of the Gothic into another, as the example of the Normans in France may shew. No wonder then that Beda should call that speech Anglic, which Asser calls Saxon; and should specially distinguish this Anglic, spoken all over England in his time, from Northumbria to Cornwall, and Kent, from the Pikish, or old and broad Scandinavian of Pikland. For tho the people of Northumbria, the greatest domain of the Angli, were really Piks; yet from their situation, separate government, and other causes, their speech had assumed the Belgic hue, while the old Piks retained their Scandinavian original speech. From a similar situation the German has greatly gained, and is daily gaining, on the Danish; while the Swedish remains purer.

The Saxon Chronicle was certainly begun, if not compleated, in Northumbria, for it distinguishes the South Humbrians from *Us*, as it expresses, a term only applicable when a work was written in Northumbria. It seems to have been begun in the Eleventh, and finished in the Twelfth century. Its language is Belgic, not Scandinavian. The Yorkshire dialect of the English is full of Scandinavian words; but in Beda's time, when language was rude, this distinction would be little striking.

Beda produces one word in the Pikish language, namely, *Peanvabel*, the name of a town at the east end of the wall of Antoninus, now, as is thought, Kineil. This name has been said to be Welch; but most falsely, for neither *Pean* nor *Vabel* are to be found in the Welch language. *Pen* is, in

Welch, the head of a hill, the top of an object ^h; but no *vabel*, or *fabel*, is to be found in that tongue. The Welch for wall, is *gwal*, a modern word derived from the Latin *vallum*, or from the Gothic *veal*, and our *wall*; as almost all words in the pretended Celtic are either Gothic, or Latin. Baxter says, that, in Welch, *Pen-y-wall* is the head of the wall ⁱ; but this is not *Peanvabel*. Beda, who specially distinguishes the Welch as a different tongue from the Pikish, and lived in a country bordering on both Piks and Welch, certainly knew the Pikish tongue from the Welch. Nennius, *cap.* 19. speaking of this, says the Wall was called in Welch *Gual*, which is the mere Roman *vallum*, with the Welch *G* prefixed; and that the town was, in Welch, called *Pengaul*, a very different word from *Peanvabel*. The Pikish word is broad Gothic, *Paena*, 'to extend,' *Ihre*; and *Vabel*, a broad sound of *veal*, the Gothic for 'wall,' or of the Latin *vallum*, contracted *val*: hence it means, 'the extent, or end of the wall,' as the Piks, who followed it to the south-east, would naturally term it; for they could not follow it to the west, where the Britons of Strat Clyde dwelled. The English name, as Beda says, was *Penveltun*, which is merely the Pikish, in a softer dialect with *tun*, or *town*, at the end of it; and it is amazing our Welch dreamers do not prove the English language to be Welch, for the English name is far nearer to the Welch than the Pikish. But to leave this trifling.

The nature and design of this work forbids my entering on a formal dissertation concerning the Pikish language; and i shall therefore close this subject with a few brief remarks. The earliest

^h So is *Pinne*, or *Penne* in German. The Celtic is quite full of Gothic words.

ⁱ Baxter was a true Celtic etymologist; witness his deriving *Blackness* from *Balg na isc*, 'venter aquæ.' *Stirling*, from *Es treu Alaun*, 'Oppidum Alauna!'

remain we have of the Lowland Scottish, or modern Pikish, is the poem of Barbour, written in 1375. Here is a specimen, faithfully copied from the MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, dated 1489.

A ! Fredome is a nobill thing !
 Fredome mayfs man to haiff lyking.
 Fredome all solace to man giffis :
 He levys at es, that frely levys.
 A noble hart may haiff nane ese,
 Na ellys nocht that may him plese,
 Gyff Fredome failyhe ; for fre lyking
 Is yharnyt our all othir thing.
 Na he, that ay haifs levyt fre,
 May nought knaw weill the propyrte,
 The angyr, na the wrechyt dome,
 That is cowplyt to foule thyrdome.
 Bot gyff he had assayit it,
 Than all perquer he suld it wyt,
 And suld think Fredome mar to pryfs,
 Than all the gold in warld that is.

Of this, as of all our old Scottish language, the GRAMMAR is perfectly ENGLISH. That is, there are no inflections of verbs and nouns, as in the German and Scandinavian dialects ; but their purpose is served by prepositions and auxiliary verbs. The Grammar of any language is it's most essential and permanent form ; and nothing is more certain than that the old Scottish language derives it's Grammar from the English, as the English does from the French, and the French from the Italian. The origins of the English language have never been enquired into with any degree of labour and minute attention ; nor the time marked when the French grammar prevailed over the Belgic, or as it is called Saxon, which had inflections, as the other Gothic dialects. This Belgic, or old English, had certainly some inflections, down to the Twelfth century, tho many of them had worn out before ; for the grammar of a language is very difficult to change, and it took

three centuries at least totally to change the English, namely, from the Eleventh, when French was first spoken by the court and nobility before the Conquest, and after by all, save the common people, till the Fourteenth century, when some inflections still remain in the work of Robert de Brunne. It must, however, be remarked, that the inflections of the later Gothic are few : and that the genius of that language often admitted prepositions, and auxiliary verbs, from the first. But it was infallibly the influence of the French speech, which has no inflections in nouns, that led us to discard them. The French, Italian, and Spanish, have inflections of verbs ; and so have we, tho very few. In which we abide by the later Gothic, while they follow the Latin ; of which all these tongues are but corrupt and rustic dialects.

From the reign of Malcolm III. 1056, to the end of that of Alexander III. 1291, most of the Scottish monarchs were married to English ladies ; and a continual intercourse prevailing between the kingdoms, from their natural situation and connection, it is then no wonder that the language of a kingdom, so very superior to Scotland as England was, and is in all respects, should have been always gaining ground there. The Danish language is now very much German, owing to the same causes. The House of Oldenburg is a German house ; as Malcolm III. from his long residence in England, was almost an Englishman, as to manners, &c. The borough towns of Scotland were, as we have seen, tenanted by Englishmen. All these causes, no doubt, contributed to introduce gradually English words and idioms, nay such small grammar as the English bears, into the Pikish or Scandinavian dialect of the north of Britain. The English was also a written tongue, while there is no room to suppose that the Pikish ever was, being spoken in a rude and barbarous kingdom ; while the Belgic, or English, had been
been

been long the written language of a great and civilized country. When it was above shewn that the Lowland Scots could not receive their language from the English, it was not meant to deny that they received the form of their *written* language from the English. All that was intended to be proved was, that, as the Piks spoke a dialect of that very language before, the English improvements of that dialect were natural and easy; whereas, had they spoken the Celtic, the English language would have gained no ground. For the causes above given are sufficient to alter one dialect almost wholly into another; but by no means to introduce a new language.

As we have no work written in Scotland in the common tongue prior to the Eleventh century, when the Belgic, or English, had begun in all appearance to prevail, the Pikish is beyond doubt a lost language, or rather a lost dialect of the Scandinavian, as the Spartan is a lost dialect of the Greek. But one half of the words, still used in the remote Lowlands of Scotland, are not English, or Belgic; but Pikish, or Scandinavian. The Pikish never being a written dialect, it must be sought for only in the vulgar mouth; and it were well worth the curiosity of some man of skill to give us a Glossary of the Uncommon Words used from the Forth to Murray Frith. We find in our old Scottish poets, and in Provincial Poetry of Scotland, that nearly half the words are Scandinavian, not English. A Scotishman can learn the Scandinavian in very short time^k; while an Englishman finds it difficult. In Icelandic the Lord's Prayer runs thus:

^k 'Accedit linguæ cognatio, quæ facit ut Scoti in Suediam advenientes Suedice loqui facillime discant.' Loccen. Ant. Sueo Goth. This must have been easily observed in the many Scottish who advanced the arms of Gustavus Adolphus. Mr. Coxe, in his Travels, I. 504, observes the great similarity between Swedish and broad Scottish; and mentions a Swedish traveller, who found many obsolete Swedish words common in Scotland.

*Fader uor som est i Himlum. 2. Halgad warde
thitt nama. 2. Tilkomme thitt Rikie. 3. Skie thin
vilie so som i Himmalam, so och po Iordannè. 4.
Wort dachlicha brodh gif os i dagh. 5. Och forlat os
uora skuldar, so som ogh vi forlate them os skildighe
are. 6. Ogh inled os ikkie i frestalsan. 7. Utan frels
os ifra ondo. Amen.*

In Tudesque thus :

*Fater unser thu thar bist in Himile. 1. Si geheila-
got thin namo. 2. Queme thin Ribbi. 3. Si thin willo
so her in himile, ist o si her in erdu. 4. Unsar brot ta-
galibbaz gib uns buitu. 5. Inti furlaz uns nusara
sculdi so uuir furlazames unsaron sculdigon. 6. Inti
ni gileitest unsib in costunga. 7. Uzoub arlosi unsi fon
ubile. Amen.*

In Anglo-Belgic, thus :

*Uren fader thic arth in Heofnas. 1. Si gebalgud
thin noma. 2. To cymmeth thin ryc. 3. Sie thin willa
sue is in heofnas and in eortbo. 4. Uren blaf ofer-
wistlic sel us to daeg. 5. And forgefe us scylda urna,
sue we forgefan scyldum urum. 6. And no inlead usig
in custnung. 7. Ab gefrig usich from isle. Amen.*

Chamberlayne, in that curious work the *Oratio
Dominica omnibus fere in linguis*, and which serves
more to illustrate the origin and propinquity of
nations, than many huge works, gives us the fol-
lowing as the Lord's Prayer in the language of the
Orkneys.

*Favor ir i chimre. 2. Helleur ir i nam thite. 3.
Gilla cosdum thite cumma. 4. Veya thine mota vara
gort o yurn, sinna gort i chimrie. 5. Ga vus da on da
dalight brow vora. 6. Firgive vus sinna vora sin vee
firgive sindara mutha vus. 7. Lyve us ye i tuntation.
8. Min delivera vus fro olt ilt. Amen ; or, On sa
meteth vera.*

This was originally published by Wallace, in
his account of the Orkneys, London, 1700, 8vo.
Bishop Percy¹ suspects that there are errors of the

¹ Northern Antiquities, Vol. I. Pref.

prefs, such as *belleur* for *belleut*: and i think at 7. *ye* for *ne*. Wallace says the Orcadians call the language *Norns*, or *Norse*: But it is a different dialect from the Norwegian, Icelandic, Danish, Swedish. It approaches nearer to the Icelandic, than to any of the others; but differs considerably even from the Icelandic, as the reader may observe. But whether this difference be merely the effect of change and time, to which all tongues are liable; or, as we know that the Piks inhabited the Orkneys, when the Norwegians came in, and that the former must have been the most numerous people, this may therefore be really the old Pikish, preserved in that remote situation, tho with some corruptions; is a question not easily determinable.

In the oldest Lowland Scottish recoverable, the Lord's Prayer would run thus:

Uor fader qubilk beest i Hevin. 2. Hallowit weird thyne nam. 3. Cum thyne kingrik. 4. Be dune thyne wull as is i bevin, swa po yerd. 5. Uor dailie breid gif us thilk day. 6. And forleit us uor skaths, as we forleit tham quha skath us. 7. And leed us na intil temptation^m. 8. Butan fre us fra evil. Amen.

In this it is attempted literally to follow the four former, as far as the language would bear. When the resemblance between all these four specimens is so great; the reader will not wonder that there is so much proximity between the old English and Scottish. The Pikish so differed from the Anglo-Belgic in Beda's time, that he marks them as distinct languages. The one retained all it's German peculiarities; the other all it's Scandinavian. But by collision, and at an early period, by an interchange of words, they became very similar. For we must not imagine that all the profits were on one side. The early English min-

^m This word is the only heterogeneous one. In Francic it is *costunga*, in Ulphilas *fraistubjai*. But i knew no Scottish word for *temptatio*.

strels were all of the north country; and from them many words, not to be found in the Anglo-Belgic, passed into the old English. It is indeed a singularity worth remarking, that the Germans were never so remarkable for poetry as the Scandinavians. The northern Angli, and Piks, a Scandinavian people, brought poetry into first repute in England: the Normans, another Scandinavian people, did the same in France; for the claim of the insipid Troubadours has been laid asleep by M. le Grandⁿ. But it is clear to me, as is natural to suppose, that the form of the language, and the greater number of mutual words, passed from England into Scotland.

On the subject of our Scottish poetry it is worth observing that our ballads and songs are as similar to the Danish as possible, as the reader will find on looking into the *Priscæ Cantilenæ Danicæ* of Velleius, published last century; or the *Levninger af Middel-Alderens Digtekunst*, Kiøbenhavn, 1780, 8vo. None of these Danish songs are older than the Fourteenth century: and in all points they perfectly resemble our Scottish ones, tragic and comic. They who enquire into the origins of Scottish music, should study that of Iceland and Scandinavia.

Fordun tells, lib. II. c. 9. ‘The manners of the Scots are various as their languages; for they use two tongues, the Scottish and the Teutonic, which last is spoken by those on the sea coasts, and in the Low Countries: while the Scottish is the speech of the mountaineers, and remote islanders^o.’ He then

ⁿ In the able prefaces to his *Fabliaux ou Contes*, 5 vols. 12mo. a work translated from the old northern poets of France, and which has passed thro many editions, while the works of the Troubadours, translated in like manner, have been received with the coldness their insipidity merited.

^o ‘Mores autem Scotorum, secundum diversitatem linguarum, variantur: duabus enim utuntur linguis, Scotica, videlicet, et Teutonica; cujus linguæ gens maritimas possidet et planas

then describes the former as a civilized people : the later as mere savages. Sir John Clerk, perhaps the best antiquary that Scotland has yet produced; tho he was quite deficient in erudition, has, in a work written in 1742, but not published till 1782 ^P, and which did not happen to be seen by me till after the materials of this Enquiry were collected, attempted to shew that the Piks were Saxons, and of course their tongue Saxon. In this he lyes open to easy and direct confutation : for, to go no further, the Piks and Saxons are by all the ancient writers marked as quite different nations ; and we know from Beda that in his time the Pikish, and Anglic, or Saxon, were different tongues. But in other articles of that dissertation, on the Ancient Language of Great-Britain, Sir John is entitled to the highest praise, as the **ONLY** antiquary, who has seen that infallible truth, that the Belgic Britons spoke that language afterward called Saxon, and that the Celts, even in Britain, were confined to the western parts, long before the time of Cæsar. This discovery arose to me, when collecting materials for the Dissertation at the end of this work ; before i began to compile those of this work itself ; and two years before i saw Sir John's production ; yet Sir John has no doubt the priority of a discovery, which in the history of no other country would have been reserved for this century, and which i will venture to say is more important to English history, than any yet made, or that can be made. For it not only adds **SEVEN CENTURIES** to the history of Englishmen, as such ; but will, if duly attended to, put the whole history of Law, Manners, Antiquities, &c. in England upon

planas regiones : linguæ vero gens Scoticæ montanas inhabitat et insulas ultiores. Maritima quoque domestica gens est, et culta, fida, patiens, et urbana; vestitu siquidem honesta, civilis atque pacifica, circa cultum divinum devota, sed et obviandis hostium injuriis semper prona. Insulana vero sive montana, ferina gens est, &c.

^P Bibliotheca Topographica Brit. *Reliquiæ Galeanæ*, p. 362.

quite

quite a new, and far more interesting footing. Unhappily Sir John wanted learning sufficient to stamp full authority upon this; and he rests upon the meaning of a few German words what depended on a display of the whole progress of the Scythians, or Goths, shewn in the Dissertation annexed to this work. His ideas on the subject are of course confused and inaccurate; and he only sees, thro a mist, a vast object, which is capable of receiving the whole blaze of day. Concerning the Piks, he is totally mistaken; and he ought to have redd a thousand or two more books, before he attempted the antiquities of his country. Sir Robert Sibbald, the earliest antiquary Scotland produced, saw this matter better, the end of last century; and tells us expressly, that the Piks were Goths, and that the names of their kings are all Gothic, not Celtic *. Pity that Sir Robert also had only that kind of superficial and ignorant learning, so remarkable in the works of our Scottish antiquists, who ought to read thousands of books before they pretend to write a word; and that he was so weak, as not to know that the name of a country is nothing, either in regard to it's inhabitants, or it's history, But the little word *Scot* totally perverted Sir Robert's understanding; and made him, who was a Pik, regard his own ancestors as his enemies.

To display the origins of the old Scottish language of the Lowlands; and the words of it which belong to the Anglo-Belgic and to the Scandinavian, and those peculiarly it's own; would require a work as large as the whole of this, or much larger: and is well deserving the attention of some able hand. But this subject so little concerns my present purpose, that i shall leave it after some remarks on the name the Piks gave themselves in their own language.

* Hist. of Fife.

The old Anglo-Belgic writers, who were the neighbours of the Piks, and had frequent intercourse with them, certainly called them by that very appellation they gave themselves, and pronounced as they pronounced it. King Alfred in his translation of Beda, and in that of Orosius, calls them repeatedly *Peobtas*, *Peabtas*, *Pebtas*. The Saxon Chronicle *Pibtas*, *Pybtas*, *Pebtas*, *Peobtas*. Ethelwerd, lib. II. 12. *Peobtæ*; lib. IV. *Pibti*. And many other Saxon remains preserve these appellations.

Wittichind, a German Saxon writer, who lived under Otho I. about the year 950, narrates fabulously that the Britons sent to the Saxons for assistance against the Piks and Scots; and calls the former repeatedly *Pehiti*, which is merely a softer pronunciation of *Pebti*. Andrew Winton, a Scottish Chronicler, who wrote about 1410, calls them *Peychts*, *Pechts*, *Pibts*. The common denomination among the people of Scotland, from the Pehts Wall in Northumberland to the Pehts houses in Ross-shire, and up to the Orkneys, is *Pebts*.

The genuine name the Piks from the earliest times gave themselves, and which they bore among neighbouring nations, was therefore that of PEHTS, variously pronounced PIHTS, and PEUHTS; for *Peöbtas*, in the Scandinavian, would now sound *Peuchtas*, the ö in Icelandic having the sound of a French *u*.

This name being guttural, and somehow indefinite, and lax in the mouth, it was softened and rendered firm and distinct, by different nations in different manners. In their original seats on the Euxine, Greek and Roman writers call them PIKI and PEUKINI; being the real names PIHTS and PEUHTS, mollified, and rendered more distinct. The later name follows them into Scandinavia, as formerly shewn.

On their emerging again to Roman view in the North of Britain, they were at first called

Cal-

Caledonians ^q, from a Cumraig epithet ; but when the Romans by further acquaintance had discovered the real name, the writers of a declining age unfortunately termed them *Picti* ; a name, which tho only the real one *Pihis*, softened to Roman pronunciation, yet gave rise to great confusion. For the word *Picti*, implying *painted people* in Latin ; the identity of the words blended matters totally distinct, and made the real name of a nation pass for a Latin epithet, so that even their own writers were led astray ; and Claudian, a poet full of quibble and conceit, says *Nec falso nomine Picti*. The English and Irish were alike unfortunate in their Latin appellations. *Angli* has been gravely derived from *Anguli*, ‘corners,’ because England has many promontories. The *Hiberni*, or Irish, have been confounded with *hiberni*, ‘wintry people, or people in a wintry climate,’ by several writers ; nay by Sir James Ware, who quotes

Hibernique Getæ, pictoque Britannia curru,
as belonging to Ireland ! The *Britons* were in like manner thought to be named from the Latin *Brutus*, for ten centuries. Such was Latin etymology : and now we promise fair to have ten centuries of Celtic ; and then ten centuries of Laplandic ; for human folly is always the same. But to return to the *Picti*, the Romans, unhappily not catching from the pronunciation the old name *Peukini*, must have been puzzled how to modify this barbaric term : for as *Piki* implied in Latin wood-peckers, &c. a victory over these *Piki* would have sounded odd in their annals. The Cumraig Britons called them *Phichtiaid*, and the Romans could have only Latinized this name *Ficti*, which was worse and worse ; for a battle with *Ficti*, *feigned people*,

^q Lloyd in pref. to Archæolog. says, the Welch still call Scotland *Kelidbon* ; Baxter, in his Glossary, tells that the Welch call the North Britons *Kelydbon*, and their woods *Coit Kelydbon*.

people of *fiction*, would have been matter of laughter. From Scandinavian pronunciation, the name was *Vici*, towns, or *Viēti*, conquered, or *Veēti*, carried, so that the confusion was endless. *Piēti*, coming first to hand, took the place of all. Ammianus calls the southern Piks, by the Scandinavian pronunciation, *Veēturiones*; that is, *Veēt-veriar*, or *Pikish men*, as the Icelandic writers call them in their old Norwegian seats *Vik-veriar*. But the mountain Piks, being then under a different government, and forming a separate nation from the Southern Piks, the old name of *Ducaledones*, or Northern Caledonians, was still continued to the former, with whom the Cumraig Britons had no neighbourhood, nor intercourse; while the real name of the Southern Piks became perfectly known to them from neighbourhood.

In Scandinavia, even among the Piks themselves, the sound of P vanished, and it was pronounced as V, from circumstances above explained. Hence the *Vika* and *Vikr* of Icelandic writers, and Norwegian charters. The same names were also pronounced *Vicba* and *Vicbr*, even in the Sixteenth century, as Olaus Magnus shews; nay, Torfæus, in the beginning of this century, uses *Vika* and *Vicba*, indiscriminately. This V is in fact only the Scandinavian pronunciation of P, and prevails in the Icelandic to this very day; P being never pronounced but as V in that tongue, even in foreign words, for in Icelandic there is no P at all. Saxo, *lib. IX.* speaks of the conquests of Ragnar Lodbrog, in Scotia, *Petia*, and the Hebrides. This must have been taken from a poem preceding 1020, for Scotia is here palpably Ireland, the only Scotia, prior to about 1020, and *Petia* is Petland, or present Scotland. Saxo a traveller, and a man of great information, knew that the inhabitants, the English and the Germans, called the country *Pebtland*, and he uses the genuine, not the Icelandic pronunciation. For

about the Sixth century, and from that time downward, as above explained, the Anglo-Belgic began to prevail among the Southern Piks in Northumbria, and by degrees proceeded northward, so that in Alfred's time, or about 880, the real sound of the letter P would be restored among the Southern Piks at least : if indeed the Scandinavian V for P be not a late corruption. And neither in the old Scottish, nor in the present Buchan dialect, is V put for P at all. In Icelandic writers we find *Pets* and *Petlands Fiord*, for Piks and Pentland Frith ; while the old Piks of Norway are called *Vikir*, and their country *Vik*. This arises from our having no Scandinavian authors at all, till the Twelfth century ; long before which time the Piks of Britain had become perfect foreigners to the Scandinavians, and their origin quite unknown to them. Hence the change of name, for one and the same people, the old name of *Pikir*, pronounced *Vikir*, continuing to the Norwegian Piks ; while the British Piks, calling themselves *Pehts*, the name was softened to *Pets*, but really pronounced *Vets* and *Vetland*. Thus, tho the English proceeding from Anglen in Denmark, it might be supposed their country would be called Angleland in Icelandic writers, it is uniformly termed England ; and neither Saxo, nor any old Icelandic writer, ever hints, or seems to have known, that the English were from Anglen. Such pieces of ignorance are frequent in the most enlightened times ; no wonder then that they should occur in dark periods.

CHAPTER XI.

Manners of the Píks.

THE manners of a people are either Public, or Private. Under the head of Public Manners, may well be put, 1. Government; and 2. Religion as they strictly belong to such, not only as having vast influence over the manners, but as forming an actual part of them. Other articles of Public Manners are, 3. War, 4. Navigation; and, by a singular fate among the Gothic nations, 5. Poetry and Music.

Private Manners may be referred to, 1. Birth, Marriage, Death. 2. Eating and Drinking. 3. Houses and Drefs. 4. Occupations. 5. Arts, and Sciences. 6. Amusements. Under these divisions every part of Manners is included.

But in treating of the people now under view, their Manners admit not only of Two Grand Divisions, Public and Private; but of Two Descriptions. The First Description is that actually given of Píkish manners, as such, by Roman and other ancient writers. The Second Description springs from the certainty that the Píks were Goths, and that of course their manners were the same with those of other Gothic nations, in the same state of society.

An historian of Scotland ought to enter fully into both descriptions; for the Manners of a barbaric people form by far the most interesting part of it's history; but my present purpose confines me to a few brief hints.

§ I. *Description of Pikiſh Manners, as given by the Roman and other ancient writers.*

Division I. Public Manners.

I. GOVERNMENT. Tacitus, the very firſt writer from whom any hints concerning the manners of the Caledonians, or Piks, can be derived, ſhews, that in the time of Agricola's expedition, they were divided into ſeveral ſmall ſtates, as the Germans, and other ancient nations. As Tacitus rightly conſiders the Scandinavians as Germans, and expreſſly tells us, that the Caledonians, or Piks, were Germans, it follows that the fine deſcription of the German governments, given by Tacitus, muſt be that of the Pikiſh ſtates alſo, namely, a democracy, which chuſed it's own chiefs, but reſerved all liberty, and the moſt eſſential part of the power, to the people. Dio accordingly tells us expreſſly, that the Caledonian ſtates were democratic. And Tacitus does not mention that they had one king among them, but poſitively implies that they had none, by calling Galgacus only the moſt eminent of their generals^a. In Germany and Scandinavia, Tacitus mentions kings : but the Piks being a later ſettlement, had not proceeded ſo far in ſociety, ſave in their firſt Britiſh ſeats, the Hebud Iles, where a kingdom had already been formed, which was in time to extend it's power over all the Caledonians. Tacitus mentions that in Britain there were formerly kings, but that in his time there were only factions. This deſcription belongs to the ſouthern Britons, with whom alone, as procurator of Belgium, Tacitus had acquaintance, as is clear from the context, in which theſe Britons are compared with the oppoſite Gauls ; and from his adding that

^a Inter plures duces virute et genere præſtans, nomine Galgacus. *Agric.*

the states formed no confederacies, *ita dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur*, 'so that fighting apart, all are conquered : ' whereas, in the very same work, the same writer tells that the states of Caledonia, with surprizing prudence, joined in a common league against Agricola.

In the *Hebud Iles* Solinus, who wrote about 240, describes the singular state of the early Pikish monarchy, above inserted. From Adomnan we learn that the Pikish kings had a senate^b; and that there was a *nobile genus*, or noble race^c, as among the Germans : and from the Register of St. Andrew's, that there was a *Regalis Prosapia*, or Royal Race : from whom it has been above shewn that the kings were chosen.

II. RELIGION. Of the religion of the Caledonians there is no hint in any Roman writer, as the country was little known, or described. Adomnan is the earliest author, from whom any information on this subject can be drawn, and that information very small. It appears from him that the Piks revered fountains^d, and ascribed great virtues to them, a notion common to the ancient Goths. That they had *sui Dei*, 'their own gods,' whom they thought stronger than him of the Christians. That they had *Magi*, or Magicians, priests who were thought to possess the power of raising storms : many adventures of Columba, with *Broi-chanus*, one of these Pikish magicians, are narrated by Adomnan.

III. WAR. On this head almost the whole Roman information necessarily rests. From Tacitus

^b Rex cum senatu valde pertimescens, domum egressus, obviam cum veneratione beato pergit viro. *Adm. Vita Col.* II. 14. de Brudeo loq.

^c Quendam de nobili Pictorum genere II. 11. He also mentions the 'familiares regis,' II. 13. the *comites* of the Germans, in Cæsar and Tacitus.

^d In Pictorum Provincia . . . audiens in plebe gentili de aliquo fonte divulgari famam, quem quasi divinum stolidi homines . . . venerabantur. II. 6.

we learn that the Caledonians, or Piks, used cars in battle, as the Belgæ and other Gothic nations. That the Celts ever had cars there is no proof. Adomnan describes Echuvislaid, king of the Crutheni, or Piks in Ireland, as using a car^e. Cars continued among the Scandinavians, down to the Tenth, or Eleventh century^f. In describing the battle of the Grampians, Tacitus also shews that the Caledonians had a body of cavalry. He does not specify the arms peculiar to each class; but only mentions that the Caledonian swords were very large, and without points, so as to cut, but not thrust; and their shields were small^g; matters in which they exactly correspond with the Germans, as described by the same author. The Caledonians also used archery, as all barbaric nations, and as Tacitus specially shews. The arrows were pointed with flints, now often found, and called elf-stones. In the time of Severus, Dio says, the Caledonians also used daggers, as the Saxons, and many other Goths. Herodian mentions their small shields; and adds lances to their armour. The last are also mentioned by Dio, who says their lances had an hollow ball of brass at the handle-end, which served as a kind of rattle^h. Gildas mentions that the Piks had a

^e Sed et de rege Cruithniorum, qui Echuvislaid vocitabatur, quemadmodum victus currui insidens evaserit prophetizavit similiter sanctus. *MS.* in *Bibl. Reg. lib. I. c. 6.* omitted by Canisius.

^f See Dissertation annexed, p. 70. So late as 1182, cars of battle were used in Flanders. 'Le Comte de Flandres y parut, escorté de plusieurs chariots armés en guerre à la façon des anciens;' in battle against the French king 1182, *Essai sur l'Hist de Picardie*, I. 311. This was the old custom of the country, the *Belgica effeda* of Virgil, if he means not the Belgæ of Britain. Saxo, lib. VIII. p. 147, mentions the car of Harold Hyldetand, about the year 800.

^g In Roman coins, Britannia has a small round shield, and long spear.

^h Lib. 76. Herodotus describes bands of Persians, with gold and silver pomgranates, on their javelins, lib. VII.

kind of hooked spears, with which they drew the Britons down from the battlements of the wall of Gallio. Such spears were used among the Scandinavians; and Bartholin gives us a print of one found in Iceland. Sidonius Apollinaris describing the Gothic princes says, *muniebantur lanceis un-*
catis.

IV. NAVIGATION. The Piks were perpetually passing the friths of Forth and Clyde to molest the Britons. Their boats were usually of osiers, interwoven, and covered with the skins of beasts, as appears from Solinus, Gildas, and Nennius. Sidonius Apollinaris, *car.* 7. mentions such boats as used by the Saxonsⁱ. Maitland tells us they are still used on the river Spey, in Moray; being round at both ends, five feet long, and three broad. Such were also the boats of the old Welch and Irish. Tacitus describes navigation as at a great height among the Suiones, or Danes of his time. But the case was different in Caledonia, an earlier and more barbaric settlement of the Goths. The Piks, however, would naturally advance in this science, tho i cannot find that they ever had fleets, like their Scandinavian ancestors. In the year 1726, under several strata of earths and fossils, was found in the bank of the Carron, a large boat, 36 feet long, and 4½ broad; made of one entire piece of oak, and well polished, both within and without. From the number of strata, Sir John Clerk thought it an antediluvian boat; but, that jest apart, these strata certainly shew it very old; and it is most probable that it was Pikish, because found in the country of the Piks.

V. POETRY and MUSIC. With regard to these the ancients have hardly left one hint. Tacitus mentions the war-song, and military shouts of

ⁱ Quin et Aremoricus piratam Saxona tractus
Sperabat, cui pelle salum fulcare Britannum
Ludus, et allato glaucum mare findere lembo.

the Piks. The manners of the other Goths must here be recurred to.

Division II. Private Manners.

I. BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH. The whole accounts of private manners of the Piks are most defective. Dio tells us the Caledonians had their wives in common, and brought up their children in public. Cæsar tells us the same thing of the southern Britons, that ten or twelve had wives in common; and chiefly brothers with brothers, and parents with children; but that the children belonged to him who first wedded the mother. These are most singular and striking features of barbaric society, hitherto rather rashly denied, than illustrated by similar examples. The Germans, as Tacitus shews, had quite the contrary practice; all being content with one wife, save the rich, who had several. They were palpably in a more advanced state of society, than either Piks, or Belgæ of Britain, their brethren. Montesquieu observes it as a feature of pastoral society, that men then have many wives, or wives in common, altogether as beasts; but he gives no examples. Herodotus tells us, expressly, that the Agathyrsi, a Scythic nation in Germany, had their wives in common in his time. Tacitus says the Germans, *alone of all barbaric nations*, had not wives in common; a clear proof that the Celts and Sarmatians had their wives in common: and he tells us of the Peukini; that, thro the promiscuous marriages of their chiefs, they were disgraced by a resemblance of the Sarmatæ. The Belgæ and Piks seem to have been in one identic state of society, as might be expected from common Gothic origin, from insular situation, and from both settling about one and the same period. Not so barbarous as to have all wives in common, they seem not however to have been

been so civilized as the Germans. The custom, however, seems to have been peculiar to the great, as among the Peukini in Germany; and Solinus describes it in his time as a privilege only of the Pikish king, to chuse and dismiss any woman he pleased. This was the natural progress of the custom, for the great would certainly be the last to abandon such licence. There is indeed every reason to believe that Cæsar judged only from the chiefs in Britain, as too many travellers apply the vices of the great to whole nations. But of this custom we have spoken before. Concerning the rest of this article we know next to nothing. From Adomnan it appears that the Piks did not, in Columba's time, burn their common dead, but buried them^k. People of rank may however have been burnt. Among the other Goths it appears to me that burning the dead was never very frequent, but always confined to the chief ranks, being laborious and expensive^l.

II. EATING AND DRINKING. Of these we have almost as little direct information. Dio tells us that the Caledonians used a certain root which supported them long, without their suffering hunger; and the same is told of the Scythians^m. Solinus says that the Piks of the Hebudes lived on fish and milk; but hunting seems to have afforded a chief food of the Piks of Caledonia. In the old forts, bones of deer have been often dug up. From Adomnan we learn that the Piks used glasses for drinking, as he describes Broichan the Magician using one. Ale, the drink of all the Goths, was certainly that of the Piks.

^k In Pictorum provincia . . . alios ex accolis aspicit, missellum humantes homunculum, II. 12.

^l So Tacitus expressly, 'Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur ut corpora CLARORUM virorum certis lignis crementur.' *Germ.*

^m Dio lib. 76. And see Pliny, Hist Nat. XXV. 8, for the use of the herbs *scytice* and *hippace*, among the Scythæ.

III. HOUSES AND DRESS. From Tacitus it is clear that the Caledonian houses, of whatever materials formed, had combustible roofs; for he describes them as all smoking around, being set on fire by the Caledonians in their retreat. The walls were probably of turf, or wood. Adomnan describes that of the Piktish king, Brudi, to have been a *munitio*, or castle^a. But it was surely of wood; and no ruins of such edifices can remain at the present time. The Caledonians, like the Germans, were almost naked. Roman writers sometimes mention them as naked; and if we saw a savage, with only a deer's skin thrown over his shoulders, and the rest of his body bare, we would, like these writers, call him naked. For it appears from Cæsar that the Belgæ, and from Tacitus that the Germans, wore a skin of some beast. No doubt the Romans saw the Piks in their most naked state, for they only visited them in the summer, the season of war. And the chiefs, as in Germany, apparently wore a tunic and breeches, under their mantle. Giraldus, c. 15, mentions the Piks as partly cloathed, or at least girt with a cloth about the middle. This was in the Fifth century. In the Sixth, when Columba lived, Adomnan drops no hint of dress or nakedness: but it is inferable that they were cloathed. The custom the ancient Piks had of staining their bodies has been formerly shewn to be peculiar to the Gothic nations. The Belgæ also retained the same custom, till the Romans introduced luxury and dress among them. But the Piks of Northumbria had it's remains down to the eighth century, as appears from a decree of the Council of Calcot, in 787, above adduced. This staining was done like the *tattooing* of American

^a Alio in tempore, hoc est in prima Sancti fatigatione itineris ad regem Brudeum, casu contigit ut idem Rex fastu elatus regio, suæ munitiois, superbe agens, in primo beati adventu sui non aperiret portas. II. 14.

savages, by pricking the skin with a thorn, or other sharp substance, and then rubbing in the juice of a plant°. From Cæsar we learn that the plant used among the Belgæ was the *vitrum*, or woad; which made them of a blue colour. Pliny tells that this plant was, in Gaul, called *glastum*, and that the British matrons in particular used it. Cæsar's *vitrum* is palpably a translation of this Gallic word *glastum*, or glass; and the word must have originated with the Belgæ, being Gothic, and given to amber by the German Goths, as we learn from the same Pliny. This tattooing as a terrible ornament, the Piks did, like the Americans, in various figures. So Claudian;

Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras.

De Bello Getico.

Besides this tattooing, the savages of North America often paint their faces red, or some other colour. This they vary as occasion demands; one colour denoting mourning, another joy, &c. But whether this custom was known to the Piks, or not, cannot be now determined. The savages of North America, tho' the cold be certainly, at least, equal to any ever felt anciently in North Britain, go mostly quite naked; tho' some wrap a skin about them in winter, as the Piks no doubt also used. Herodotus tells us of the Neuri, a Scythic nation, who were in winter turned into wolves: Pelloutier ingeniously explains this, that in winter they cloathed themselves in the skins of wolves.

IV. OCCUPATIONS. The chief occupation of a savage is to procure food and dress: the chief occupation of civilized society is the same, to procure money to buy food and luxuries. As Solinus tells that the Hebudian Piks lived on fish and milk,

° ——— viridem distinguit glarea muscum,
Nota Caledoniis talis pictura Britannis.

Auson. in Mosella.

fishing

fishing and pasturage must have been their main occupations. The other Piks added hunting : and in time agriculture.

V. ARTS AND SCIENCES. The houses of the Piks were certainly only built with wood, or wattles, and mud ; as among the Gauls, and the Germans. But from the ancient writers who mention the Piks, we can only learn that they could make weapons of war ; which were certainly of brass, as were those of all other early nations ; and war chariots, in which brass was no doubt used in those parts now made of iron. Of the Sciences of the Piks we find no vestige : and while in South Britain one or two learned men arose, we have every reason to believe that the Piks did not even know the use of letters, and that their churchmen, and men of letters, were all Irish and Welch, down to the Twelfth century. This proceeded from the supreme contempt, which the barbaric Goths, as a wise people, had for that jumble of madness, and sanctity, called learning in the dark ages.

VI. AMUSEMENTS. Of these, as might be expected, we find no account in those ancient authors, who mention the Piks.

§ II. *Description of Pikish manners, as being those common to other Gothic nations.*

This theme is very extensive, and can therefore be here only slightly sketched.

Division I. Public Manners.

I. GOVERNMENT. It is now universally known that the government of the early Goths, was generally a Democratic Monarchy. Herodotus describes the early Scythians as having kings : and from

from Tacitus we learn, that the Germans had them. But these kings were merely as Indian chiefs; men, who from superior merit had acquired influence, and which influence remained to their descendents and relations, from a natural veneration of the people for the superiority which had established it, and a hope of finding it continued in the same progeny. The example of Iceland may satisfy us, that the barbaric Goths were not incapable even of a regular republic, established upon wise laws. But in this republic riches had such natural influence, that if a man became very rich, the laws, passed in the General Assembly, in which even all the peasants appeared, were not held ratified, if such a man were absent. Some man of this description, adding great talents, art, and courage to his wealth, would have in time come to be king. For in such society riches and power are the same; and nobility always originates in wealth. But how does wealth originate in such society? Certainly by chance. For a man of the greatest talents, or courage, may make many inroads and expeditions without success; while another, by one lucky hit, may acquire vast riches: and a man without capacity may find a treasure, or be sole heir of many relations. This Republic of Iceland highly merits the attention of the learned, as we have all its Laws, Constitution, and History, in far higher perfection than those of Greece and Rome. It presents a picture of the progress of barbaric society, prior to the year 1000, when it became Christian, and letters were introduced. A progress of nine centuries, uninfluenced by foreign manners, had taken place between the state of the Germans, given by Tacitus, and that of Iceland. But it must be remembered that Tacitus tells, the Suiones, or Danes, had wealth; and were from situation more advanced in society than the Germans, even in his time. They obeyed a king with greater, and a
more

more fixt power : but there is no room to think the royalty was hereditary, else Tacitus would not have omitted so strange a peculiarity, while all the Germans elected their monarchs, as he tells, from the nobility of their race. From a perfect similarity of situation the Pikiſh monarchy originated in the Hebud Iles; while Caledonia was divided into democratic ſtates. Cæſar inſtructs us, that the Gallic ſtates were moſtly democratic; and that the few kings were chiefly uſurpers. Tacitus mentions no pure democracies in Germany; and the Gauls were, from Grecian and Roman intercourſe, more advanced in ſociety than the Germans. Like the Greeks they had paſt from petty kingdoms, known at the ſiege of Troy, to republics; while the Germans were ſtill in their heroic age. The Piks, during the Roman period of our hiſtory, as may be inferred from their remote ſituation, reſembling that of the Germans, had alſo the German government. Tacitus mentions no kings in Caledonia. Dio, a ſuſpicious authority, names one Argentocoxus, and tells a pretty tale about him. It is indeed mere matter of curioſity to enquire whether the Caledonian ſtates had their petty kings, or not. Such kings were mere chiefs, or firſt magiſtrates; and with no power over the people, ſave what the people pleaſed to allow. It has been agitated, whether monarchy, or democracy, be the moſt ancient form of government; but the fact is, that the moſt ancient monarchies were really democracies. We are certain from Tacitus and Dio, that the Caledonian ſtates were democratic; and if writers would candidly examine the ſubject, they would ſee that in early ſociety monarchy itſelf is always democratic. In the Hebud iſles alone, as among their fellow iſlanders, the Suiones, a remarkable and real monarchy was eſtabliſhed, which in time ſpred over Caledonia. The coincidence of both theſe monarchies being in a cluster of iſles is curious.

curious. *Divide et impera* was here done by nature.

II. RELIGION. The religion of the ancient Goths has been lately explained by so many writers, that i need not enter so vast a field. Suffice it to observe, that the mythology of a barbaric people must be full of confusion, while even that of the Greeks and Romans is so. Odin is at present the God best known to us, as he is most celebrated by the Scandinavian scalds: but Tuisko was in the time of Tacitus the chief god of the Germans; and Irmenful was in the days of Charlemagne, he of the Saxons. In the Scandinavian mythology, the chief confusion rises from this, that Thor, beyond doubt the Jupiter, or chief god, is sometimes called father of Odin, sometimes son of Odin. The Eddas of Sæmund, and of Snorro, also palpably imply two Odins; and the Scandinavian antiquaries assert an elder, and a later. If i may humbly offer an opinion, after so many men of real and profound learning, a similarity of names seems in traditional times so liable to errors of this sort, to have confounded *Odin*, the god of war with *Godin*, a name for the Supreme Being; whence our word God, and originating from *god*, GOOD. For it is clear from the Eddas, that the Scandinavians, as many of the Greeks and Romans, admitted a Grand Creator and Preserver, to whom these gods were but as servants. When they became Christians, they naturally retained this name for that Great Being. This theory might be supported by arguments very valid, but this is not the place. And i shall close this argument, with only admonishing the reader to beware of that grand error of the Scandinavian antiquaries, so unerring in other matters, namely their supposing Odin and his Asæ to be real persons, who led their people from Asia, 70 years before Christ; whereas they belong wholly to Mythology, and not in the least to history. Snorro Sturlason, a writer of the *Thirteenth* century,

tury, is the grand source of this delusion; by mentioning in his Edda^p that Odin fled from Pompey: and the veneration paid to Snorro maintains this puerile fable, tho it be a mere romantic fiction, similar to that of Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, the British Brutus, &c. Snorro could only find this tale in a Saga, written by some ignorant romancer, who had heard of Pompey the Great, and so brought him in as he would have done Alexander the Great, Judas Maccabæus, King Arthur, or Charlemagne. For where else could Snorro find this, save by *special revelation*? It is shewn in the Dissertation annexed, that the progress of the Scythians, or Goths, into Scandinavia, was compleated, at least 500 years before Christ. Nor did they even come out of it again, save into Britain, Denmark, Russia, Iceland, and Normandy. And it is demonstrable from all the ancient writers, from Herodotus, down to Cæsar, Tacitus, and Ptolemy, that this pretended expedition of Odin is a mere fable, founded on the allegory that Odin, the God of War, led the Goths into Scandinavia, that is, they opened their path by the sword.

III. WAR. The peculiar warlike spirit of the Caledonians, or Piks, unknown to the other Britons, marks them as Goths, and as Scandinavian Goths, the most warlike of men. Northern climates produce iron men. The mountains of Scandinavia, and of Scotland, were the natural soil of such a race.

An iron race the mountain-cliffs maintain,
Foes to the gentler genius of the plain.
What wonder if, to patient valour train'd,
They guard with spirit what by strength they gain'd?

And while their rocky ramparts round they see,
The rough abode of want and liberty,
(As lawless force from confidence will grow)
Insult the plenty of the vales below?

GRAY.

^p Apud Torf. Ser. Reg. Dan. In his history Snorro dates Odin in the time of the Roman emperors.

This admirable description applies so well to the Piks in particular, that one would imagine it drawn from their invincible spirit, and constant incursions into the southern plains. If our Highlanders be in fact, as some assert, more warlike than their Irish ancestors, their mountainous situation must be one chief cause, as the great mixture of Goths among them is another. But had the Romans found Celts in Caledonia, they would have totally vanquished them at once, with a single legion, as they did Celtic Gaul; and, as Tacitus says, they could have done Ireland. The conquest of the Celts, south of Forth and Clyde, was so easy that Tacitus gives no hint of it, but passes it as a thing of course: and in another place says, that Agricola discovered the Celtic tribes in Galloway, and went and planted castles among them. But when the Caledonians appear in Roman history, it is to open a new scene; and to give a sample of such people as were to overturn the Roman empire, a specimen of the Ostro-Goths, and Westro-Goths on the Euxine, and of the Northern Germans. Would that, for the sake of civilization, the Piks had been subdued! Yet their defiance, for three hundred years, to all the power of Rome, is certainly a striking spectacle in history. That their country was not subject to Rome, is no compliment to it; but that the Romans so repeatedly attempted the conquest, and not only failed, but were forced to build many ramparts and walls in their own defence, gives us a surprizing idea of the warlike spirit of these northern Goths, to whom, as their southern brethren said, 'the gods themselves were not equal P.'

P Cæsar, IV. 7.—The weapons and battles of the Gothic nations, are perfectly known. Their ensigns were at first heads of boars, wolves, bulls, and other beasts. But Arrian, in *Tactic.* describes the Scythic ensigns of his time as dragons made of cloth, and hissing in the wind. The Scottish banner, 1138, was a dragon. Dalrymple's Annals, p. 79, from Alfred de Bello standardi.

B b

When

When we see the state of war among the northern Goths in particular, this mystery vanishes. Utter contempt of death, joined with vast strength of body and mind, necessarily insured to them defence and conquest. But why enter upon so trite a theme, as the spirit or manner of Gothic war? Why describe the hall of Odin, and the eternal luxuries of those slain in battle? Why paint the martial terrors, thundering around a people who compared the delights of a conflict to those of love, and who died laughing?

IV. NAVIGATION. As we meet with no distant maritime expeditions of the Píks, it is needless to enlarge on this head. It has already been shewn that the Scandinavian ancestors and brethren of the Píks were so skilful in navigation, as to have regular fleets in the time of Tacitus.

V. POETRY AND MUSIC. The Gothic Poetry forms one of the most singular features in the history of human manners. It's familiar and constant use is so remote from modern ideas, nay from the practice of any barbaric nation, ancient or modern, that it seems to us almost incredible. Yet nothing is more certain than that to be taught the composition of verse, and the use of arms, formed the whole Gothic education. Verse was in such familiar use among the Goths, that it was common to accost a stranger in verse, who at once answered in the same^a. The Scalds were only men more distinguished for this talent; and who, from superiority in it, were led especially to practise it. But, even to understand their verses, it was requisite to have studied poetry much; for their metaphors are so violent and remote, and the construction so entirely changed, that a poem was required to be committed to memory, and often revolved, before it could be thoroly understood^r. As a

^a Sagas, and Northern Writers, *passim*.

^r Guðlaug's Saga.

specimen of the figures, gold is called the dragon's bed, the tears of Freya; poetry, the present, or the drink, of Odin; a combat, the bath of blood; the hail of Odin, the shock of bucklers; the sea, the field of pirates; a ship, the horse of the waves, &c. &c. &c. Hardly any idea was expressed in simple and direct terms. Hence the obscurity is prodigious: and to explain one ode of the Edda of Sæmund, Eric Hallfen, an Islandic poet of last century, employed ten years, and was forced, after all, to give it up in despair^s. This, to be sure, is an unique instance, as that ode is the most obscure remain of northern antiquity. Nor does this darkness arise from the metaphors only, but from the construction, which is so perverted, that the most perverted part of a Greek or Roman poet seems plain English to it.

Hence it required superior understanding and skill to develope this poetry. But it may naturally be concluded, that the more ancient the Gothic poetry is, it will be the more simple. The Death Song of Regnar Logbrog, who was king of Denmark, about 820, is an ancient remain of Scandinavian poetry; and, tho not so perplexed as many later pieces, it has nevertheless very remote figures, as a battle is called the ocean of wounds. In short, simplicity seems to have been shunned as a matter of ease: and the more art, labour, and such scaldic science as then prevailed, that were employed, so much higher was the praise. Thus we see that even barbaric society is capable of false taste, and false refinement, in poetry. The Goths were too ingenious; and sacrificed the delicious poetry of the heart to that refined art, and remote sense, which only employ the head; and employ the head in vain, for nothing can be more foolish, than for a man to use much time and labour to wrap a thought in obscurity, only in or-

^s Edda Sæmundi, Hafniæ 1787, 4to Tom. I.

der that another may use much time and labour to develope it; while the former, by speaking plain at once, might have saved the whole toil, and have attained far superior praise. This unhappy taste for ænigmas pervades much of the Gothic poetry, and only serves now to excite our wonder at seeing extreme ingenuity, and false refinement, in barbaric society. In other barbaric poetry, perfect simplicity is sure to be found; but in the Gothic the case totally differs; and the very study of the ancient Scandinavian poetry, is to this day a peculiar and real science by itself; requiring as much, nay more, skill in it's mythology; kinds of verse, which amount to at least three times the number ever known to the Greeks, or Romans; metaphors, phraseology, &c. than is necessary to the perfect knowlege of the Greek and Roman poetry. A phænomenon altogether astonishing; and which sets all theory of human manners at defiance! The Celtic poetry is quite different; having no mythology at all, and only such few metaphors and perversions, as are found in all rude poetry, as in the Laplandic and Indian Heroic and Amatory Ballads.

The Gothic poems were all short, as common sense dictates must be the case in all traditional poetry. The story of Homer's poetry being preserved by tradition, for three centuries, is quite fabulous; for he wrote about four hundred years after letters were used, both in Greece and Asia. The Death Song of Regnar Lodbrog is among the longest pieces of Gothic poetry supposed to be traditionally preserved; and it extends to but Twenty-nine octave stanzas, of short lines. Ossian, and *Epic poems*, preserved by tradition, are ideas which could not have occurred but to a Celtic understanding. The longest kind of poem, known to the Goths, was that called the *Drapa*,

Drapa ^t, which to relieve the memory had always a burden: and it was a very long *Drapa*, which had Thirty octave stanzas, of these very short lines, so usual, and so disagreeable in Gothic poetry, consisting of but three, four or five syllables each. A piece of this sort, would not of course contain more words than sixty, or eighty lines of Homer. The *Flocker* was a shorter kind, without burden. The *Mals*, *Lioths*, and *Quidas*, of the Edda of Sæmund, the earliest repository of Scandinavian poetry, being collected about the year 1110, never exceed fifty short stanzas, of very short lines: and it is suspected by some Scandinavian antiquaries, that a few of them are of his own composition. Rime is unknown to the early Northern poetry; and seems never to have been used till after the Scandinavians were Christians, in the Eleventh century, and began to imitate the riming Latin verses of the monks, the real inventors of rime.

The Celtic poetry, as that of a weak and despirited people might be expected to be, is almost wholly melancholic in a supreme degree. All the mock Ossian is full of deaths, misery, and madness. The Gothic poetry is the exact reverse of this, being replete with that warm alacrity of mind, chearful courage, and quick wisdom, which attend superior talents. Death, which is such a whining and dreadful affair in Celtic poetry, is in the Gothic a matter of laughter. It was a custom of the Gothic warriors, to sing their own death song. So did Ragnar Lodbrog; so did also king Bodvar; and many others, noted in northern story. We have a most remarkable corresponding instance in Procopius, who wrote about the year 560. He attended Belisarius in his expedition against Gilimer, king of the Vandals, in Africa, 533; and tells us,

^t See an account of the *Drapa*, in Gunlaug's Saga, p. 1, 15, 113. Of the *Flocker*, ib. 113.

that Gilimer being defeated, and blocked up in the mountain Pappua, he composed a song on his own misfortunes, which he sung to the harp. Soon after he was forced to yield himself; and Procopius informs us, that he laughed much, when he came before Belisarius, for that purpose: tho the step was to him worse than death, had he not apparently hoped that he might thereby intercede for his people.

The Pikiſh poetry, no doubt, conſiſted, like that of the other Goths, altogether in ballads, or ſongs upon the ſubjects of mythology, hiſtory, genealogy, moral advices, panegyrics of heroes, and love. In particular Heroic Ballads, and Love Ballads, are the earlieſt poetry of all nations. The Laplanders celebrate old chiefs, as well as their miſtreſſes; but we have no ſpecimen of the former, tho the Spectator has made the later well known. Even in the confined circle of the Ferroe Iles, the Gothic inhabitants have their ſongs on celebrated champions^u. And that this cuſtom was moſt ancient among the German Goths appears from Tacitus, who tells us of the great Arminius, *caniturque adhuc apud barbaras gentes*, ‘he is yet ſung by the barbarous nations.’ Eginhart tells us, that Charlemagne ‘wrote, and committed to memory the barbarous and moſt ancient ſongs, in which the acts and wars of former kings were celebrated.’ Aſſer tells us the ſame of Alfred. Jornandes ſays, the funeral of Theodoric, the Gothic king, was *cantibus honoratum*, ‘honoured with ſongs.’ Of hiſtoric and genealogic ſongs i have treated above. Of moral ſongs we have fine examples in the *Haavamal*, and other pieces of Sæmund’s Edda. Love ditties form another ſpecies of early poetry, known, like the Heroic, to all barbaric nations. Some of the old Scandinavian, i am informed, are

^u Debes’s account of the Ferroe Iſles, p. 273. Torſæus de rebus geſtis Ferræenſium, *paſſim*.

exquiſitely

exquisitely tender; and tho' few have been published, yet good examples appear in the Sagas. Take these translations of two stanzas †.

‘ Virgin of the beautiful face, learn my verses. If you remember them, they will deceive your languid hours, when your lover is distant; and the youth of your heart will appear in your memory.’

‘ We stood together upon the green grafs, when the damsel, with beauteous locks, and sweet countenance, embracing me with her arms, weeped bitterly; and, with linnen whiter than snow, wiped the thick-falling tears from her radiant eyes.’

The Scandinavians had also ludicrous and satyric poetry; of which good specimens may be found in the Edda of Sæmund, as the *Ægis-drecka*, or Feast of Æger at which Lok appears, and tells all the gods and goddesses present their faults; and other pieces similar.

Of Gothic or Scandinavian Music we know little. In battle the horn was chiefly used, as in Scotland, down to the Fourteenth century. The harp was a Gothic instrument, first invented in Asia, and passing with the Goths to the extremities of Europe, and into the Celtic countries. The ancient Irish harp was small, like the Gothic. The bag-pipe, so foolishly thought a peculiar old Highland instrument, was used by the Greeks and Romans, as we know from many marbles, coins, &c. and Roman authors. From Procopius we learn, that in the sixth century it was the instrument of war among the Roman infantry, as the trumpet was among the horse^w. Hence there is
little

† From Gunlaug's Saga.

^w Lib. II, c. 22, he describes the bagpipe as εκ θυρεσης τε, και ξυλου υπεραγαν λεπτου, ‘made of leather, and thin wood.’ Nero used to perform on the bagpipe, and there is a coin of his with that instrument on the reverse: See Sueton. in Nerone, c. 14. and Vossii Lexicon Etym. in voce *Utricularius*; where he observes that Varro calls it Pythaula; and above

little doubt began its warlike use in Britain and in other countries subject to the Romans.

Division II. Private Manners.

I. BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH. Among the Goths, children were dipped in a stream, or lake, soon after the birth; and a name was given them. This was considered as an holy office, for all waters were held sacred. Exposition of children was cruelly allowed, as among the early Greeks and Romans. If the father desired that the child should be preserved, he took it in his arms, or put it on his knee. Exposition, tho always very rare, continued lawful in Scandinavia till 1024^x. Men of eminent science often educated children gratis, from infancy to manhood.

In marriage i cannot discover a shadow of any sacred ceremony among the Goths^y. The bridegroom presented a present to the damsel's father, or guardian; which has been strangely interpreted by superficial theorists, as if he bought his bride. It was a mere token of respect, usual on this occasion among the Greeks and Romans; and Tacitus tells us, that the German Goths gave and

all Blanchini de tribus generibus musicæ veterum organicæ, Romæ, 1742, 4to. The bagpipe is still familiar among the Greek and Italian shepherds. In Scotland and Ireland it seems quite modern, for Giraldus Cambrensis, tho so full on the music of these countries, does not mention it. See his *Top. Hib.*

^x See a long and curious memoir *De expositione infantum* at the end of Gunlaug's Saga.

^y Judge Blackstone observes in his Commentaries, Vol. I. that marriage was totally a civil contract, till Pope Innocent III. about the year 1210, ordained it's celebration in the church.

took

took presents upon many occasions. Women were held in such adoration among the Goths, that to have bought a wife would have ruined the richest of them. The bride also gave a present to the husband. The parties and friends being met, the father solemnly delivered the bride to the bridegroom, with a form of words. After which the marriage feast, the chief part of the ceremony, followed.

Bodies of common people, and of enemies, were buried; those of chiefs burnt, if opportunity served; if not, they were buried. When burnt, the ashes were put in earthen urns, as among the Greeks and Romans; and a barrow of earth, in proportion to the rank, was thrown up. That of a beloved king was sometimes like a little hill.

II. EATING AND DRINKING. Pork was a favourite food of the Scandinavians; and boars' flesh the main article of Odin's Feast. In Iceland, when first planted, herds of swine, and of sheep, are often mentioned^z. Horse flesh was used in Scandinavia and Iceland till the eleventh century, when it was forbid by the Christian missionaries. A curious relict of the old Scythian manners described by Herodotus! The chief drink of the Goths was ale. Wine and meed were occasionally used. They drank out of horns, as the ancient Thracians and other Scythians. I have seen a Scandinavian drinking-horn, carved, painted, and adorned with silver; with a whistle made of bone at the small end, in order to call servants. Cæsar describes such horns as used by the Germans.

III. HOUSES AND DRESS. The houses of the common people in all the countries of Europe, were at first wooden; and continued so till within these two centuries. Among the Goths, the houses

^z Islands Landnama. The Christianity of the dark ages induced an horror for swine's flesh, as the gospel represents the devils entering into the swine.

of the kings, and great men, were also of wood : consisting of many apartments on a floor, surrounded with a wooden palisade, forming within a *curtis*, or court. The womens' apartment was separate from the rest, and often fortified with another ditch, and palisade, to prevent their being carried off in these barbarous times^a. The eating room, or hall, was the chief part of the house. At an entertainment, the guests sat on large benches, on either side the hall, and in the midst of each bench was an high chair, or seat of honour, for the chief persons, with one opposite for the next in rank^b. The floor was sprinkled with straw, a custom continued in the Royal Palaces in England, till the Sixteenth century. The fire was in the middle of the hall ; and all along it's wall were boxed beds, yet much used in Scottish villages. The guests sat just before their beds, so as they could step into them with ease. A vast vessel of ale was placed on the floor, whence to fill the horns.

The Drefs of the early Goths, consisted only in a skin thrown over the shoulders. But the chiefs even then wore a close jacket and trousers. The last habit in time became common to the people. In the column of Trajan, the Daci are so represented ; and such was the early Icelandic habit. Breeches were the peculiar habit of the Goths, and unknown to the Celts, from the beginning to this day. Gallia Braccata, or Breeched Gaul, was infallibly inhabited by Gothic-German Gauls, as it's position might also shew. The mantle was also a part of drefs among the chiefs. The ancient German women wore only a close shift of linnen, often striped with purple. It had no sleeves ; and a part of the neck was left bare. In the Icelandic poetry, *clothed in linnen* is a frequent epithet for

^a See Cleffel. Ant. Germ. and the Northern Antiquaries, for an account of the *skemmur*, or womens' apartments.

^b Curious prints and descriptions of old Islandic houses may be found in Gunlaug's Saga.

the women. But in the earliest times the linnen shift was a dress of rank; and the other women roamed naked, like dryades, among the German woods, glittering in the natural splendor of a snow-white skin, rosy cheeks, and a prodigious length of golden hair. For the hair of the Gothic women was often so plenteous, as when they combed it to cover them all around, and reach the ground as they sat. In winter, a skin of some beast was thrown over their shoulders, and fastened before with a thorn, or other rude pin. As the skin was of no use without such pin, the antiquists may hence derive the necessity and origin of pin-money. In time the women also adorned themselves with glass beads, which they procured from foreign merchants, as the Indians do now. Such beads of most colours are found in urns in Germany; with hair-pins, and hair-rings, to fasten on the ringlets with the pins, as an ornament. Such articles distinguish a woman's urn; as brass razors do a man's: for we learn from the ancients, that the German men shaved their beards, and only wore mustachios.

IV. OCCUPATIONS. It is well known that the early Gothic occupations were hunting, fishing, and pasturage: and in time agriculture. From Tacitus it appears, that the German Goths had orchards. But war was the grand occupation of the Goths.

V. ARTS AND SCIENCES. Herodotus, and other ancients, pronounce the Scythians the wisest of mankind: and wisdom is the parent of true art and science. They had philosophers, and were skilled in astronomy. Tacitus describes the German houses as built of rude materials, without mortar or tyles. He mentions not the materials; but another ancient^e tells us, they were of wood. But Tacitus adds, that some of them were done over with an

^e Herodian VII. 5.

earth, so pure and splendid, that it resembled painting. This custom continued a long time; and the earth used was called *rotbe erde*, red earth, and *Englische erde*, because they brought it from Britain^d. The only genuine specimens of the earliest Gothic architecture, are the Piks houses, singular exertions of barbaric art. The old Scandinavians were remarkable for carving, with a knife, little figures of wood, or bone, and such have been found in Scotland; particularly a little image of a king, on a throne, dug up near Dunstafnage, and probably a Norwegian work, done when these people were possessed of the Hebrides, and part of the western coast. On the Gothic arts and sciences, much might be said; but it is the greatness of the subject, which forces me not to enter on it here.

VI. AMUSEMENTS. Chess was the favourite amusement of the Gothic nations, and known among them in the earliest times, and in all their most barbaric possessions. Tacitus describes the Germans as passionately addicted to gaming. In Iceland, chess was general; and in the eleventh century we find Gunlaug the scald playing at chess with the beautiful Helga, whose love so excited him and Rafen, another scald, that they fought, and fell by mutual wounds^e. Conversation was another chief amusement; and was employed principally in narrating the acts of great men, in proposing and solving ænigmas, and in trials of poetic skill. But news were a perfect feast of the rude Goths. In Iceland, when a foreign ship arrived, it was a privilege of the chief men to hear the earliest news; and the vulgar were not allowed to approach till they were fatiated. Their counsels were often guided by such intelligence as chance supplied. An exact picture of the Gothic Gauls,

^d Cleffel. Ant. Germ. p. 168.

^e See that beautiful Northern love-tale, Gunlaug's Saga.

as described by Cæsar. The polite Athenians were also remarkable for this love of news. But i have already exceeded the bounds proposed in the sketch of early Gothic manners, whereby to illustrate those of the Piks, and must begin another chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

Pikish antiquities in Scotland.

IT is much to be lamented that accuracy and penetration are so rare in works written upon antiquarian subjects. In every country, if the most foolish books were to be named, it is believed that the antiquarian class would be immediately condescended on. One would imagine that, in such subjects, quite a different mode of reasoning is allowed, than is employed in treating any other branch of science. Instead of facts, we find mere imagination: instead of argument, only groundless conjecture, supported by such incoherent and inconclusive sophistry, as must argue a deranged understanding, if exerted on any other literary department.

Perhaps it may be said, that the very subject of antiquities can only admit of opinion, and conjecture; and never of real science: that we want grounds for certain knowledge: that of course the mind, having no fixt barriers, roams at pleasure in the wilds of conjecture, without any path to conduct it to the temple of truth.

But it must be answered that the study of antiquities stands exactly on the same ground with that of history. It is impossible indeed to write the ancient history of a country, without being an antiquary. Nay an historian must be an antiquary, if he ventures on the history of any country, two centuries before his own time; else he will err most grievously, in narrating facts, founded on customs, and language, different from those of his own times.

times. The study of history is thus so intimately connected with that of antiquities, that it becomes almost the same. But especially no man can treat of the antiquities of a country, without knowledge of it's history. The origin of any law, or custom, the occasion and nature of any monument of antiquity; can never be displayed, without knowing what nations held the country, and what events happened in it. The foundations of antiquarian science, therefor, rest solely on the ground of history.

Now in history, it is believed, none can deny that there are fixt principles, whereby to distinguish truth from falsehood, and opinion from science. In ancient history, the accounts of ancient authors form the sole ground; and leave no room for opinion or conjecture. We must abide by their testimonies; and, when they differ among themselves, abide by the most ancient, or best informed.

But ancient monuments generally escape the notice of ancient histories; and we learn nothing from Herodotus, or Ctesias, that can particularly illustrate the ruins of Persepolis. We only know in general that they must be remains, either of the Assyrian empire, a part of which existed in the Babylonick, after the Median held the north of present Persia, or of the Persian. And as Persian coins and gems present us with the same dresses, and symbols, as are found on these ruins, it must follow that they belong to the Persian empire, which began so late as 570 years before Christ.

To apply this example to the present subject, it is certain from ancient authors, and from present evidence, that the Celts first possessed Britain and Ireland, till the Scythians, or Goths, came in and vanquished them. No trace of any other nations than the Celts, and the Goths, can be found in these islands, either from the testimony of ancient writers, or from that infallible evidence, the language. The civilized Romans, and their monuments, are here out of the question; as their re-
mains

mains are perfectly marked, and known. The only question, therefor, among antiquaries, is, whether to impute our barbaric monuments to the Celts, or to the Goths?

It is well known that Stonehenge, as it is one of the finest barbaric monuments in the world, has afforded the greatest room for antiquarian contestation. Inigo Jones, when he wrote a work to shew it Roman, only gave a lamentable proof of that truth, too much experienced in all countries, that antiquities, like law, medicine, moral philosophy, natural philosophy, form a peculiar and distinct branch of science, only attainable by laborious study, and experience in the subject; and that he who ventures on them, without any claim to the character of an antiquary, must err beyond all excess, however great his talents may be in other respects. Indeed, it may safely be said that good antiquaries are still more rare than even good historians: and any great library will afford convincing proofs of the assertion. Dr. Charleton, who imputed Stonehenge to the Danes, because many monuments of that kind are found in Denmark, came very near the mark; but reflected not that the Danes were so late a people in England, that it's erection could hardly escape historic notice. Such monuments are also common in Germany, so that it might as plausibly have been given to the Saxons. At last, the Celts and Druids becoming fashionable in this century, Dr. Stukeley assigned Stonehenge to the Druids.

From this instance, and innumerable others, it is perfectly known, that the only debate, concerning the rude monuments in Britain and Ireland, is, whether they are Celtic, or Gothic. There being indeed no end of conjecture, some French writers have lately dreamed of a primitive people, as they call them, to whom such monuments belong. It suffices to say, that there is not a trace to be found of this primitive people, but in imagination, all history being quite mute: and

it

it is a certain rule, *de non apparentibus, et non existentibus, eadem est ratio*. Not to mention that those writers, so skilled in the ideal part of antiquities, always shew gross ignorance of the real. Their reasoning is also truly antiquarian, and inconsistent. From a similarity of barbaric monuments, from Japan to Britain, they reason that they are all remains of one people: totally forgetting the similarity of mental, and manual, powers thro the whole extent of human nature. Nay the very similarity they find is chiefly imaginary; and no greater than between an English steeple, and a Chinese pagoda. A writer^a, who deserves to be mentioned with respect, but who is capable at times of dealing in all the nonsense of genius, as a late work^b of his deplorably proves, has lately started an idea of a people now lost, to whom all nations are indebted for their arts and sciences. This people he places in Tartary, because he found that the oldest astronomical observations indicated their being made in that clime. Following M. de Buffon's system, that the earth is a piece of the sun, struck off by a comet; and must have cooled first, and been first inhabited at the poles; he concludes this people to have come from the north pole, down to Tartary. In Britain, immediately irradiated with the light of Newton, M. de Buffon's system has appeared, and will ever appear, a fanciful *reverie*, unworthy of confutation, as it has no grounds whatever, either to reason on, or be reasoned against. M. Bailly's argument from old astronomical observations is curious; but may be answered, by granting the opinion of many an-

^a M. Bailly Lettres a M. Voltaire sur l'origine des Arts, &c.

^b Lettres sur l'Atlantide; a work built on an Egyptian fable told by Plato, in utter forgetfulness that the Egyptians were noted for falsehood. Did M. Bailly believe the Egyptian story, that the sun had risen in the west, and reverted twice to the east, in the memory of their annals? Which was the west, and which the east, when the Atlantic affair happened?

cient and modern philosophers, that this globe has suffered a change in it's position. A comet may change the posture of the earth, far more easily than it could dash off all our planetary system from the sun. If you grant one conjecture, why not grant another to confute it? But perhaps it is too much to allow M. Bailly's idea of the ancient astronomical observations solid, for the greatest astronomers have used these observations before, without any such discovery. And it may be that these observations are forged by the Greek authors, who preserve them; Greece being in the same climate with Tartary, tho not with Babylon and Arabia, generally reputed the very parent countries of astronomy, till M. Bailly controverted their claim. As to M. Bailly's argument, that the north of Asia was once a warm climate, because elephants bones are found there; he must allow his conjecture to be answered by another, that there was a breed of elephants in remote ages, peculiar to a cold, as the present is to a warm climate; just as Arabia, a hot climate, produces a peculiar and beautiful breed of asses^c. Of conjectures there is no end; and he who deals in them, must expect to be confuted by them. His idea, that the riches found in Tartaric tombs belong to this primitive people in Tartary, only shews his total ignorance of antiquities; for it is perfectly known, that they are, for the most part, Persian spoils, won by Genghis Chan, and Timur, in their expeditions, as appears from their fabric: and that the fragments, really Tartaric, are of no older date than the first of these conquerors, who first brought wealth into Tartary. In short, his idea of a primitive people in Siberia and Tartary, from whom the arts sprung, is not only opposite to all ancient history, but is confutable from the certain fact, that no ruins, coins, nor reliques of any kind, used by a civilized people, can be found in

^c Niebuhr Descript. d' Arabie.

these countries, but what are of very late date: and it is not to be supposed that this civilized people, from whom arts and sciences sprung, would be strangers to those arts which mark the residence of civilized nations. But of this too much.

For my part, who never venture further than history will carry me, i have nothing to do with the primitive world, nor with any primitive nation; but shall leave literary Quixotes to conquer such ilands on dry land for their Sanchos. From ancient Greek and Roman writers, it is perfectly known that the west of Europe was anciently inhabited by two grand races of men, the Scythians and the Celts: the later being indigenes, the former an Asiatic people. When Cæsar entered Britain, and first disclosed it to historic authority, he found the indigenes, or Celts, confined to the interior, or distant parts of the iland; while the Belgæ, a German progeny, as he informs us, had all the maritime parts. The Celts were, as he says, strangers to agriculture, and lived by hunting and their flocks; while the Belgæ were an agricultural people. Britain again remained unvisited by the Romans for a century longer, when Claudius began the conquest^d. During that century, the Belgæ had been always gaining ground, as civilized colonies do among savages. In Ptolemy's time, it is clear that the Belgæ had all the south and east of present England. In the north the Piks were a Gothic people, as the Belgæ in the south: but the Piks had expelled a Celtic people from the north, as the Belgæ had from the south.

Thus history so far illustrates the barbaric monuments in Britain, as to make it certain, that they must be either Celtic or Gothic. The first and grand enquiry therefor, among antiquaries, ought to have been, whether they are Celtic or

^d See the authorities produced, Part II. c. 1.

Gothic ; or which are Celtic, and which Gothic ? But most unhappily they have taken them all for Celtic, while the truth is quite on the other side. It is indeed the peculiar defect of antiquaries to take, as sure foundations, those very points which are entirely false and delusory. Thus Pelloutier, Mallet, and others, regard the Celts and Goths as all one people : and, without using a single authority or argument upon the subject, assume, as granted, a gross error ; building vast edifices upon a morass, without once examining the foundation, tho that foundation ought to have been their principal care. In like manner none of our antiquaries has ever examined, if our barbaric remains be really Celtic, or Gothic : but they have taken it for granted that they are Celtic, nay, that they are Druidic, as they facetiously call them, without ever using a single argument or authority on the subject. This error is indeed chiefly owing to their gross ignorance of the ancient history of their country, which leads them to regard the whole inhabitants of Britain and Ireland as Celts, till the Saxons entered England : whereas all Britain and Ireland were conquered, and in a great measure possessed, by the Goths, two centuries before the birth of Christ, as shewn, or to be shewn, in these volumes. Indeed the French antiquaries, tho infinitely superior to ours in all other respects, have to this hour shewn little knowlege of the conquest of Gaul, and population of one third of it, by the Belgæ, a Gothic people ; but whom they regard as being themselves Celts. In all science error has first appeared, by the natural propensity of the human mind to falsehood ; but not without beneficial effects, for truth is never firm, till erected upon the ruins of error. Malebranche preceded Locke ; and Descartes, Newton. May history keep pace with other sciences in England ; and be erected upon the ruins of foreign error !

Another

Another radical cause of this error is, that antiquaries regard the Druids, and their rites, as universal among the western nations in Germany, Scandinavia, Gaul, Britain, Ireland. Here they again take for granted a foundation, not only to be proved, but impossible to be proved, and utterly false. Cæsar tells us expressly of the Germans, *neque Druides habent*, ‘they have no ‘Druids:’ Tacitus, in his long and valuable account of Germany, says not one word of Druids: nor is there *one* authority in all antiquity for Druids being at all known, except in Gaul and Britain. Even in these two countries they were only known among the Celts of the west. For Cæsar tells us, the Belgæ of Gaul were Germans of quite different speech, laws, and manners, from the Celts; and, as Germans, it follows from his express testimony, that they had no Druids. The Belgæ of Britain are exactly in the same predicament. When the Romans attacked Anglesey, they found Druids; but there is not one authority for their existence among the British Belgæ, nay direct authorities, as above seen, against it. The Caledonians Tacitus calls Germans; and Beda, with other proofs above given, evince them Scandinavians; and it is of course impossible that they could have Druids. In Ireland there is not a shadow of an authority for the very name of Druid being known; and antiquaries might, with equal reason, give us Bonzes and Dervises in Ireland. Cæsar tells us, that Druidism was invented in Britain, and passed to Gaul; and there is reason to conclude, that it was originally taught by the Phœnicians to the people of Cornwall, where they traded for tin, as it’s deities and mythology are clearly Phœnician. The god Belinus, or Baal, the mystic egg, &c. are mere transcripts of Phœnician theology; and, if we had much light on the Druidic system, there

is room to infer that the resemblance would be complete; but all we have from the ancients concerning the Druids would not fill a page. As to the dreams of French and British antiquists on the subject, they are only fit for laughter; and *Druidic* is beginning to be a term for the most nonsensical nonentity of antiquism. The customs of all nations and languages are huddled together, to make out a mass of Druidism; while there is no authority at all for Druids being known beyond present North Wales on the north, and the river Garonne, the bound of the Celtæ in Gaul on the south. A line drawn by the Severn in Britain, and Seine in Gaul, forms the eastern bound, while the ocean forms the western. Pliny tells us, that Tiberius abolished the Druidic religion, which he could not have done, had it spread so wide as we dream. But in Nero's time there were Druids found in Mona, or Anglesey, by Suetonius Paullinus; which would seem to have been their last refuge: and Paullinus destroyed their groves^e to root up a superstition so detestable to good government, from the power of its priests above kings, and to civilized manners from its human sacrifices. But as superstitions are not easily eradicated, some individuals continued their veneration of Druidism to a late period. It is also remarkable that after that event only female Druids are mentioned^f.

That

^e Præsidium posthac impositum victis, excisique luci sævis superstitionibus sacri; nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere deos, fas habebant. Tacit. Anal. xiv.

^f So the British Druidess foretold the fate of Diocletian. Aurelian consulted *Gallicanas Druidas*, Vopisc. in Aur. *Silvano sacr. et nymphis loci*, *Arete Druis Antistita*, *somno monita*, D. Inscr. apud Gruter. p. 58, n. 9, found near Metz, where this Druidess perhaps attended a Gallic cohort in the wars against Germany; if the stone was not carried thither by chance, either in ancient or modern times.

The

That our old barbaric monuments are Celtic or Druidic, not one authority or argument has been used to prove. That they are not Celtic, but Gothic, may be shewn from the following authorities and arguments.

1. They are found all over Germany and Scandinavia, nay in Iceland^g, where it is certain no Celts nor Druids existed. As it is perfectly known that the Gothic inhabitants of Britain came from Germany and Scandinavia, while no Celts nor Druids ever went there, the inference is direct and obvious.

2. The Celts, from all ancient accounts, and from present knowlege, were, and are, a savage race, incapable of labour, or even rude arts. They were indigenes of Europe; as are the Fins; and no stone monuments can be traced among the Fins. The Goths, on the contrary, were only a barbaric race, with barbaric arts from the beginning; and originated from Asia, where the rude, as well as the cultivated, arts first began.

3. The most remarkable barbaric monuments in Europe are those circles of erect stones, which antiquists of this century call Druid temples. Nothing can be more certain from all the ancients, who mention the Druids, than that they had no temples, but worshipped in groves. Had these been Druid temples, the Romans, when they abolished Druidism, would have destroyed them in the very first place; whereas many remain in the south of Britain, as well as in the north. Tacitus, who specially mentions the destruction of

The latest mention of Druids is by Ammianus Marcellinus, *lib. xv.* but he speaks of them as past, *vigueret*, &c. as does Ausonius to Patra.

*Tu Baiocassis stirpe Druidarum fatus,
Beleni sacratum ducis e templo genus.*

This place was in Celtic Gaul. See Edit. Var.

^g Worm. Mon. Dan. Keyfler, Coxe's Travels, &c. &c. &c.

the Druidic groves, could not have avoided mentioning that of the temples, had any such existed.

4. In no Celtic author is there any mention of such edifices, or their use. Nennius thought Stonehenge a work of Merlin's magic. But Scandinavian writers specially mark the use of these circular monuments, namely, to hold parliaments and courts of Justice; which, as all know, were among the Goths always held in open air, to a late period. In Iceland, which retained it's pagan customs long, a native of Iceland, Mr. Thorkelin, professor of history at Copenhagen, informs me the very date of erecting some of these circular monuments is known. And the use of them is retained in the old annals and laws of the country: as well as their names still in the popular mouth, namely, *ting*, or court. Islands Landnama, a work of the thirteenth century, says, *Oc thar bja er sa dombringr er i heir dæmdu menn til blota. Thar setti Thordr Geller fiordungs thing, med radi allra fiordungsmanna*^h; 'A judicial circle stands there, where men were doomed for sacrifice. There Thorder Geller erected a court for one quarter, by the consent of all that quarter's men.' Adam of Bremen says, the Danes called a council of the nation *Warph* or *Thing*ⁱ. These courts occur of all sizes, from the national council down to the court of the district. Twelve stones were often set for the twelve judges to sit under, in chief courts of justice. But national councils had larger space, and more stones; and courts for a district, from their confined jurisdiction, had fewer judges, and stones. A rope drawn around the stones impanelled the court, and kepted off the croud.

^h P. 94. Hayniæ, 1774, 4to. In the same work, p. 257, is mention of rock idols worshipped by one Eyvind; and it affords innumerable other lights on Gothic antiquities.

ⁱ So *Upsalating*, *Landsting*, *Allting*, *Almenting*, &c. Loccen. Ant. Sueo Goth. p. 73, 74.

Greek and Roman writers afford us no light concerning these monuments, which is indeed surprising, especially in Tacitus, who mentions the courts of the Germans held in open air. But the vastness of the Roman works made them look upon monuments, which strike us with surprize, as beneath notice. The Islandic writers are indeed late: but the argument hinges upon this, that they mark the use of these monuments, as familiar to their people; whereas not one Celtic writer gives any hint concerning their use. The argument is therefor clear and fair, that these monuments are Gothic, not Celtic. And these four arguments must be allowed convincing, when it is reflected that not *one* authority, or argument, can be used on the other side.

A respectable writer ^k, but whose work betrays crude and inaccurate reading, and want of judgment, in eternally blending authors of the first and sixteenth centuries, that is, authorities with no authorities; and mingling the whole with a mass of tradition, etymology, and vague conjecture; has condescended on the following as Druidic monuments. 1. Single stones erect. 2. Rock idols, and pierced stones. 3. Rocking stones, as ordeals. 4. Sepulchres of two, three, or more, stones. 5. Circular temples. 6. Barrows or tumuli. 7. Cromlechs, or heaps of stones. 8. Rock basons for Druids expiations. 9. Caves for retreat in war.

Most of these sorts are found in Scandinavia and Germany, as every one who has glanced at the works of Wormius and Keyfler, not to mention many other German and Scandinavian antiquaries, must perfectly know. Divisions 2. *Rock idols, and pierced stones*; 3. *Rocking stones*; 8. *Rock basons*, i must confess, do not seem, as far as i recollect, to have been remarked in Scandina-

^k Borlase's Cornwall.

via and Germany. Indeed antiquaries of these countries, being little addicted to visions, seem to have consigned these articles to the naturalists, as there is great room to infer them of the *lufus naturæ*. Natural philosophy now informs us, that gravel and sand are only comminuted rock; and, in the course of this comminution, the hardest parts of the rocks remain entire; and may, in some instances, form odd shapes. These odd shapes are rock idols in some cases: in others one hard part of a rock is left suspended on another, as if by human art, whence some rocking stones; tho others may be real monuments of battles, &c. as are the single stones. But for their being ordeals, there is no proof; but puerile conjecture. As to stones pierced, either horizontally, or excavated on the top into apparent basins, both cases proceed from local softness in the rock, as the former two from local hardness. But as the whole scheme of Borlase rests upon his confounding the Gothic with the Celtic nations; and his opinion upon this subject has been confuted by a writer of real and solid learning¹; it is unnecessary to attack parts of a work, which stands altogether on a false foundation. That rocking stones were sepulchral among the early Greeks may appear from a passage of Apollonius Rhodius, hitherto, so far as I remember, not produced on this subject.

Τηνω εν αμφιρυτη πεφνευ, και αμνησαιο γαιαν
 Αμφ' αυτοις; στηλαις τε δυω καθυπερθεν ετευξεν,
 'Ων ετερηθαμβος, περισσιον ανδρασι λευσειν,
 Κινυται ηχηεντος υπο τωνοιη βορεαο^m.

‘He slew them in sea-surrounded Tenos, and
 ‘raised a hillock about them; and placed two

¹ Dr. Percy, pref. to Northern Antiquities.

^m Argon. I. M. d'Hancarville says, rocking stones are found from Japan to Britain. Apollonius also mentions a cromlech, or altar of loose stones, *lib. II.*

‘ stones on the top : of which one (the admiration of men) moves to the sonorous breath of the northern wind.’

But it may be said, if these monuments be Gothic, how came they to be found in the west of England, and in Ireland, peculiar seats of the Celts, tho the east and north of Britain were in the hands of the Goths two centuries before Christ? Be it answered that the Belgæ had not only peopled the east of England, but also the south of Ireland : and, as we know from Straboⁿ, that they not only held all the east of Gaul, but had colonies in the furthest west, such may be presumed to have been the case with Britain and Ireland^o. The people of Wales and Cornwall must in the course of four centuries, that the Romans held South Britain, have been mixed with Romans and Belgæ. Not to mention that many of these monuments may be Danish ; for the Danes, in the Ninth century, conquered Ireland, as universally known. And from Borlase himself, p. 42, 43, 372, it is clear that the Danes, in 787, settled in Cornwall, and that the Cornwallians remained under their protection till 938, when conquered by Athelstan, who first brought them under the Saxon yoke. Yet Borlase never thinks of assigning these monuments to the Pagan Danes ! In Wales the Danes had also frequent alliance, intercourse, abode. But it is most probable that in Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, most of these remains are really Belgic.

The erection of such vast stones, and the placing of one upon another, occasions great surprize. A work upon Barbaric Arts would be curious and

ⁿ Lib IV. The Veneti were Belgæ.

^o Menapia in Wales was doubtless founded by the Menapii of Ireland, and of Belgic Gaul. Cæsar speaks as if all the *maritime* part of Britain was possessed by the Belgæ. If so, they held all the shores ; but he can only be trusted as to the part he visited

interesting.

interesting. In Peru the erection of regular edifices, with stones of equal size, is certainly matter of more wonder^p. It has lately been shewn that all our difficulties, concerning the barbaric monuments in Europe, may be done away by a simple process. Whole armies and tribes were employed in erecting such monuments; and what could not be done by art was effected by the numbers employed. Large mounds of earth were thrown up, with a gentle declivity, along which the stone was forced with wedges of wood, and the strength of successive parties. When got to the top, it was forced over an aperture, at the further and precipitous end of the mound. Another stone, if required, could be placed on it's top, by the same method. For circles successive mounds were made, and removed; and patience and numbers compensated the want of machines and of art.

But let us pass more immediately to our present subject. The antiquities of the Piks, the Gothic inhabitants of Scotland, may be reduced to these classes.

I. Single Stones erect; being 1. Sepulchral.
2. Memorial. 3. Boundaries.

II. Barrows, or sepulchral hillocks.

III. Temples, and Places of Judgment.

IV. Castles.

V. Caves.

VI. Entrenchments.

I. SINGLE STONES. Plain erect stones are common in Scotland, as in most other countries.

II. BARROWS. There is no authority, and no reason to believe, that the Celts ever used to raise hillocks over their illustrious dead. The plain cromlech, or little heap of stones, was more consonant to their savage indolence; and it is well

^p Voyage of Ulloa.

known,

known, that they used it till a late period. Barrows are certainly Gothic, as they were ancient Scythian. Many such have lately been opened in England, with laudable curiosity. Sometimes urns are found, sometimes small stone coffins, in which the bones were put; sometimes entire skeletons: so that it is inferable that burning, or burial, was used as opportunity served, or as superstition dictated. Among the Romans, burning the dead ceased in the third century. Among the Goths it continued to be occasionally used till their conversion to Christianity. There is no room to believe that the Celts ever burned their dead at all. In Scandinavia sepulchral mounts are frequent. They are sometimes surrounded with stones at the bottom, and have sometimes a stone on the top. The tombs of the old Swedish kings near Upsal are all conic mounts: as are others in the ile Biorkoo.

Mr. Pennant, Vol. III, p. 155. describes a singular Cairn in the parish of Fettercairn, of vast size, which he considers as sepulchral, an opinion which his description renders dubious. But a large barrow near Inverness was also discovered to be a pile of stones and sands, covered with sod. This was a Scandinavian mode, as may be seen in Dahlberg's *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, plate 323.

III. TEMPLES, AND PLACES OF JUDGMENT.

It is singular that no ancient writer mentions those circles of vast stones, which strike us with so much surprize. Had they been Druidic temples, surely, in the ancient accounts we have of the Druids, their using such remarkable temples would not have been omitted. But the ancients mark groves as the only Druidic temples. These circles are therefore, in every appearance, chiefly Courts of Justice. They are Gothic; and are found in Scandinavia, and in Iceland: in the last country a place

a place of this kind is called *Dom-thing*, implying a Court of Judgment ^a. In the middle is a stone for the judge to sacrifice, who in the pagan times was always a priest; as among the Greeks, priest and king, or chief magistrate, were generally united in one person. Hence these places were in fact regarded as both temples and courts of justice: and it was no unusual thing in pagan Iceland for a human victim to be sacrificed, before proceeding to hear causes, and administer justice. There is reason to conclude that Stonehenge, and other such monuments of enormous stones, were used for the same purpose. The magnificence of Stonehenge, and such fabrics, may arise from their being Supreme Courts, in which the king sat, and rude parliaments were held; the chiefs being within, the people without the circle. For all Courts were anciently held in the open air; and the rude parliaments especially, in which, as Tacitus expressly tells, the whole people had a vote. The stones across the top of two others were apparently conveniences for the chiefs to get up, and speak to the people, who, as Tacitus describes, dissented by murmurs, or applauded by clashing their shields. Stonehenge may have been the Supreme Court of the Belgic Britons. For the Belgæ, properly by superiority so called, are by Ptolemy and Richard placed in that very tract: and Sorbiodunum, their capital, was Old Sarum, as all agree. That Stonehenge, and such monuments, might easily be erected by a simple process of raising mounts has been lately shewn; so that there is no occasion to have recourse to giants, beings of imagination. This opinion that Stonehenge was really a barbaric Parliament House, being it is believed new^r, it is, after

^a Also *Dombring*, 'circulus judicialis.' Isl. Landn. p. 94.

^r I since find the same opinion expressed by M. Brotier, in his Tacitus, where at the words of the Germania, *confidunt*

after the various opinions of so many great men concerning this wonderful monument, most humbly submitted to the reader's candour. The noble circle at Claßernis in Lewis^s may also be of this kind; an ancient Gothic Court, in which great affairs were decided: the avenue, &c. being mere pieces of rude magnificence, as the double circle is at Stonehenge, and others.

We are not, however, to imagine that every small circle of stones is a court of justice. Some such were family burying places: others, temples erected to several small deities. Some large ones were solemn to the election of the king, or chief; and such have commonly twelve stones in a circle, and a large one in the middle, upon which the king was placed and crowned, or acclaimed^t. But all kinds are Gothic, and abound in Scandinavia. It is no wonder indeed that, while our writers take for granted that all Britain was possessed by Celts, they should regard these monuments as Celtic. This is only a lamentable proof, among many, that they have begun at the wrong end; and pretended to illustrate antiquities, without knowlege of history, that is, they have attempted to see without light.

IV. CASTLES. The Pikish castles, as appears from some remains, consisted of round ramparts of earth with ditches^u.

V. CAVES. Subterraneous retreats in war are common to most early nations. Tacitus^v tells us

dunt armati, he refers to Mallet for the courts in Scandinavia; and mentions Stonehenge, and the *Champs de Mars, et de Mai*, and *Etats Generaux*, among the Franks.

^s See Martin's Western Isles.

^t Wormius Mon. Dan. That some were burying places appears from Olaus Magnus, lib. I. *saxa, ordine sphaerico, familiarium designantia sepulturas*: and see Dahlberg Suecia Ant. et Hod. vol. III.

^u Gordon's Itin. Sept.

^v In Germania.

they

they were used by the Germans. In Picardy there is a most remarkable vast excavation, in the form of a St. Andrew's cross; of which a print and description are published^w. In the Hebud Isles, and other parts of Scotland, artificial caves are found^x. Those of Hawthorneden, near Edinburgh, are remarkable, being cut out of a free stone rock, in several apartments. Some think them Pikish: but they may be suspected Roman, as a similar work in Cumberland seems to be^y.

VI. ENTRENCHMENTS. There is no proof that the ancient Gauls, Germans, or Scandinavians, ever fortified their camps as the Romans. Cæsar seems to mention as singular, and a first instance, that the Gauls fortified their camp. The Gauls preceded the Germans, Britons, and Scandinavians, near three centuries, in every art, as is clear from Cæsar's whole work. That great man tells us, that when the British Belgæ raised a rampart of felled trees, they called it a town. Oval and round intrenchments are found in Scotland; and are generally termed Danish and Pikish camps. The Danes used to fortify tops of hills in their invasions, tho they remained but for a short time, as the Saxon Chronicle observes. Cater-thun, and other artificial entrenchments in Scotland, of an oval and round form, seem Pikish works, on the model of the Roman entrenchments, round their military stations; but not square as the Roman always are.

^w Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscip.

^x Martin's Western Isles. Cordiners Ant. & sc. for those in Ross-shire.

^y Pennant's Scotland, II. 69, 70.

A P P E N D I X

T O

The First Volume.

VOL. I.

Dd

A P P E N D I X

To Volume I.

Number I. *Ptolemy's Geography of North Britain, collated with the Palatine MS. and with the Latin Editions 1462, and 1490.*

BE G I N S at the North (really the West), going East (North) stops at Orcas Prom.—Then begins the West side, going South, from Mull of Galloway to Cape of Cornwall—Thence along the South to Kent.—Then the East, beginning at the North, Orcas Prom. going South to Kent.—In this circuit he only marks the rivers and promontories.

He then proceeds to the names of the nations, beginning at Galloway, on the North-west extremity, as he supposes. He then goes East (North), and enumerates progressively West, North, and East, the nations in North Britain, till he comes down to the Brigantes in Yorkshire. After which, going South, he enumerates the nations in South Britain, till he ends in Cornwall.

He concludes with mentioning the islands on the North and South of Britain. Those on the West he gives at the close of his account of Ireland, in the preceding chapter.

Αρκτικής πλευρας περιγραφη, ης υπερκειται Ωκεανος καλου-
μενος Δουηκαληδονιος (*Pal. habet λλ*).

Νουαντων (*Pal. Νοουαντων*) χερσονησας, και ομωνυμου ακρον
κα : - ξα : γο *

Ρεριγονιος κολπος κ : L†-ξ : Lγ

Ουιδοταρα (*Pal. Ουιδογαρα*) κολπος . κα : γ - ξ : L

* The Greeks divide the degree only into twelve parts of the *As* or whole. An explanation of these fractions of the degree may be found in the Preface of Bertius.

† This mark stands for half a degree.

Κλωτα εισχυσις	κβ : δ : νθ : γο
Λελααννονιος (Pal. Λεμααννονιος) κολπος	κδ : - ξ : γο *
Επιδιον ακρον	κγ : - ξ : γο
Λογγου ποτ. εκβολαι	κδ : - ξ : γο
Ιτυος ποτ. εκβολαι	κζ : - ξ :
Ουολσας κολπος	κθ : - ξ : L
Ναυαιου ποτ. εκβ. (Pal. Ναβαιου)	λ : - ξ : L
Ταρουιδουμ ἢ και Ορκας ακρα (Pal. Ταρουεδουμ)	λα : γ - ξ : δ
Δυσμικης πλευρας περιγραφη, ἢ παρακειται ὁ τε Ιουβερνιος Ωκεανος και ὁ Ουιεργιονιος, μετα την Νουαντων χερσνησον ἢ επεχει	κα : - ξα : γο
Αυραουαννου (P. Αβρανανου) ποτ. εκβολαι	ιβ : γ - ξα :
Ιηνα εισχυσις	ιβ : - ξ : L
Δηουα ποτ. εκβολαι	ιη : - ξ :
Νοουιου ποτ. εκβολαι	ιη : γ - νθ : L
Ιτουνα εισχυσις	ιη : L - νη : Lδ

(Cætera hujus lateris, et MERIDIONALIS ad Angliam pertinent.)

Των εφεξης προς ἑω και μισημεβριαν πλευρων περιγραφη αἰς παρακειται Γερμανικος Ωκεανος.

Μετα το Ταρουεδουμ ακρον η Ορκας ὅπερ ειρηται.

Ουιερουεδρον ακρον	λα : - ξ : -
Βερουβιουμ ακρον (Pal. Ουερουβιουμ)	λ : L-νθ : γο
Ιλα ποτ. εκβολαι	λ : - νθ : γο
Οχθη ὑψηλη	κθ : - νθ : γο
Λοξα ποτ. εκβολαι	κη : L-νθ : γο
Ουαρα εισχυσις	κζ : L-νθ : γο
Τουαι εισχυσις (Pal. Ταουαις)	κζ : - νθ :
Κελνιου ποτ. εκβολαι (Pal. ut semper εκβολη)	κζ : - νη : Lδ
Ταιζαλον ακρον	κζ : L-νη : L
Διουα ποτ. εκβ.	κς : - νη : L
Ταουα εισχυσις	κε : - νη : L
Τιννα ποτ. εκβολαι	κδ : L-νη : Lδ
Βοδερια εισχ.	κβ : L-νη : Lδ

(Cætera Angliæ sunt.)

* Sic : sed Latinæ edit, melius hîc tantum ξ. et Ιτυοσποτ. ξ : γο.

Οικοῦσι δὲ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀρκτικὴν πλευρὰν ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν
ὁμωνύμιον χερσονήσου ΝΟΥΑΝΤΑΙ. Παρ' οἷς εἰσι καὶ
πολεῖς αἱ δὲ.

Λουκοπιβία	.	.	.	ιθ : — ξ : γ
Ρέτιγονιον	.	.	.	κ : 5-ξ : γο

Ἐφ' οὗς ΣΕΛΓΟΥΑΙ παρ' οἷς πολ. (*Pal. addit αἶδε.*)

Καρβαντοριγον	.	.	.	ιθ : — νθ : γ
Ουξελον	.	.	.	ιη : L-νθ : γ
Κορδα	.	.	.	κ : — νθ : γο
Τριμοντιον	.	.	.	ιθ : — νθ : —

Τούτων δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ΔΑΜΝΙΟΙ μὲν ἀρκτικώτεροι,
ἐν οἷς πολεῖς (*P. addit αἶδε.*).

Κολανία	.	.	.	κ : L-νθ : 5
Ουανδουαρά	.	.	.	κα : γο-ξ : —
Κορία	.	.	.	κα : L-νθ : γ
Αλαυνα	.	.	.	κβ : Lδ-νθ : γ
Λινδον	.	.	.	κ : — νθ : L
Ουικτορία	.	.	.	κγ : L-νθ : —

ΓΑΔΗΝΟΙ δὲ ἀρκτικώτεροι.

ΩΤΑΔΗΝΟΙ δὲ μεσημβρινώτεροι, ἐν οἷς πολεῖς (*P. addit
αἶδε.*)

Κουρία (<i>P. Κορία</i>)	.	.	κ : 5-νθ : —
Βρεμειον (<i>P. Αρεμειον</i>)	.	.	κα : — νη : Lδ

Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Δαμνονίους πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἀρκτικώτεροι μὲν,
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐπιδίου ἀκροῦ ὡς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ΕΠΙΔΙΟΙ.

Μεθ' οὗς ΚΕΡΟΝΕΣ. (*P. inf. εἶτα ἀνατολ. ΚΡΕΟΝΕΣ.*)

Εἶτα ΚΑΡΝΟΝΑΚΑΙ.

Εἶτα ΚΑΡΗΝΟΙ.

Καὶ ἀνατολικώτεροι καὶ τελευταῖοι ΚΟΡΝΑΒΤΟΙ.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Λαίλαμνονίου κόλπου μέχρι τῆς Ουαράρ
εἰσχυσεως ΚΑΛΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ.

Καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καληδόνιος ὄρυμος.

Ὡν ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ ΚΑΝΤΑΙ.

Μεθ' οὗς ΛΟΓΟΙ συναπτόντες τοῖς ΚΟΡΝΑΤΙΟΙΣ.

Και ὑπὲρ τοὺς Λογους ΜΕΡΤΑΙ.

Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοὺς Καληδονίους ΟΥΑΚΟΜΑΓΟΙ παρ οἷς πολεῖς.

Βανατία κδ : — νθ : L

Ταμεία κε : — νθ : γ

Πτερῶτον στρατοπέδον κζ : δ - νθ : γ

Τουεσίς κς : Lδ - νθ : ε

Ὑπο δὲ τοὺς δυσμικνῶτεροι μὲν ΟΥΕΝΙΚΟΝΤΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πολεῖς.

Ορρεα κδ : — νη : Lδ

Ανατολικῶτεροι δὲ ΤΕΞΑΛΟΙ.

Και πολίς Δηουανὰ κς : δ - νθ : Lδ

(Tunc redit ad Brigantes, et Angliam.)

ΝΗΣΟΙ δὲ παρακείμεναι τῇ Αλουιῶνος κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ορκαδὰ ἀκρὰν

Οκητίς νησός λβ : γο - ξ : Lδ

Δουμανὰ νησός λ : — ξα :

Ὑπὲρ τὴν ΟΡΚΑΔΕΣ, περὶ τριακόντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὧν τὸ μετὰ ξυ ἐπεχει μοίρας λ : — ξα : γο

Και ἐπὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς ἡ ΘΟΥΛΗ ἥς τὰ μὲν

δυσμικῶτάτα ἐπεχει μοίρας κθ : — ξγ :

Τὰ δὲ ανατολικῶτατα λα : γο - ξγ : —

Τὰ δὲ ἀρκτικῶτατα λ : γ - ξγ : δ

Τὰ δὲ νοτιῶτατα λ : γ - ξβ : γο

Τὰ δὲ μετὰ ξυ λ : γ - ξγ : —

INSULÆ OCCIDENTALES ex lib. II. c. 2. de Hibernia.

Ὑπερκεινται δὲ νησοὶ τῆς Ιουερνίας, αἵτε καλούμεναι ΕΒΟΥΔΑΙ, ἐ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὧν ἡ μὲν δυτικῶτερα καλεῖται Εβουδα

ιε : — ξβ : —

Ἡ δὲ ἐξῆς αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ὁμοίως

Εβουδα ιε : γο - ξβ : —

Εἰτα Ρίκινα ιζ : — ξβ : —

Εἰτα Μαλεός ιζ : L - ξβ : —

Εἰτα Επιδίου ιη : L - ξβ : —

TRANSLATION.

* * * *The Greek MSS. differ much; and the Editio Princeps, Basil. 1533, is not published from a good MS. In collating with the Palatine, Sylburgius has forgotten the degrees. The Latin Translation is generally preferable to the Greek text, being taken from better MSS.*

SEPTENTRIONALIS LATERIS descriptio, quod alluit Oceanus qui vocatur Deucaledonius *.

Novantum Chersonesus, et ejusdem nominis promontorium 21 — 61 40

Rerigonius Sinus 20 30 60 45

Vidotara (*Pal.* Vidogara) Sinus ^a 21 20 60 30

Clota ^b æstuarium 22 15 59 40

Lelaannonius Sinus (*Pal.* Lemaannonius ^c) 24 — 60 —

Epidium prom. 23 — 60 40

Longi fluvii ostium 24 30 60 40

Itvis fluvii ostium 27 — 60 40

Volfas Sinus 29 — 60 30

Nabæi fluvii ostium 30 — 60 30

Tarvidum ^d, quod et Orcas Promontorium (*Pal.* Tarvedum) 31 20 60 15

OCCIDENTALIS LATERIS descriptio, quod Ibernicus ac Vergioius alluit Oceanus. Post Novantum Chersonesum quæ habet 21 — 61 40

Aurayanni (*P.* Abranani ^e) fluvii ostium 19 20 61 —

Iena ^f æstuarium 19 — 60 30

Devæ ^g fluvii ostium 18 — 60 —

Novii fluvii ostium 18 20 59 30

Ituna æstuarium ^h 18 30 58 45

[*The remainder of this, and the south-side, belong to England.*]

ORIENTALIS deinde, ac AUSTRALIS, PLAGÆ LATERA, quæ Germanico alluuntur Oceano, describuntur sic.

Post Tarvedum, quod et Orcas Promontorium, jam dictum.

* In collating with the Latin editions, 1. denotes that of 1462; and, 2. that of 1490.

^a Vindogara, 1.

^b Clatais, 1.

^c Lemanonius, 1.

^d Tarvedi 24 — 3

^e Abravani, 1. 2.

^f Ieæ, 2.

^g Dubæ, 2.

Orcas 31-60 } 1

^h Itucæ æstus, 2.

Virvedrum promontorium		31 ⁱ — 60 —
Veruvium prom.	- -	30 30 ^k 59 40
Ila fluv. ostia	- -	30 — 59 40
Ripa alta	- -	29 ⁱ — 59 40
Loxæ fluvii ostium *	- -	28 ^m 30 59 40
Vara æstuarium	- -	27 30 59 40
Tuæsis æstuarium	- -	27 — 59 —
Celnii fluvii ostium	- -	27 — 58 45
Taizalum prom.	- -	27 ⁿ 30 58 30
Divæ fluvii ostium	- -	26 — 58 30
Tava æstuarium	- -	25 ^o — 58 30
Tinæ ^p fluvii ostium	- -	24 30 58 45
Boderia ^q æstuarium	- -	22 30 58 45

[The rest belong to England.]

Juxta Septentrionale latus, sub Cherfoneſo eodem appellati nomine, NOVANTÆ habitant apud quos urbes hæ :

Lucopibia	- -	19 — 60 20
Retigonium	- -	20 ^r 10 60 40

Sub eis SELGOVÆ, apud quos urbes hæ :

Carbantorigum	- -	19 — 59 20
Uxelum	- -	18 30 59 20
Corda	- -	20 — 59 40
Trimontium	- -	19 — 59 —

His verſus ſolis ortum, magis ſeptentrionales, DAMNII ſunt, in quibus urbes hæ :

Colania ^s	- -	20 30 59 10
Vanduara ^t	- -	21 40 60 —
Coria	- -	21 30 59 20
Alauna	- -	22 45 59 20 ^u
Lindum	- -	23 — 59 30
Victoria	- -	23 30 59 —

* Palatinus Varum æſtuarium præponit oſtio Loxæ amnis, et ſic ed. r. ⁱ 30 — 59¹/₃, (1).

^k 31¹/₂, (2.) ⁱ 29, (1. 2.) ^m 27, (1.) ⁿ 28 — 58¹/₂, (1.)

^o 27, (1.) ^p Tiva, 2. ^q Bogderiaſis, 1. Bogderia, 2.

^r 26, (1.) ^s Colanica, 2. ^t Vandogara, 2. ^u 23-58²/₃ (1.)

GADENI

GADENI vero magis Septentrionales.

OTADENI autem magis australes sunt, in quibus urbes hæ:

Curia	-	-	20 ^w	10	59	—
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Bremenium ^x	-	-	21	—	58	45
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Post Damnonios, versus solis ortum magis Septentrionales, quasi ad ortum vergentes ab Epidio prom. EPIDII sunt.

Post quos CERONES: inde Orientaliores CREONES.

Deinde CARNONACÆ^y.

Deinde CARENIZ^z.

Et Orientaliores, ultimique, CORNABII^a.

A Lælamnonio autem finu usque ad æstuarium Varar sunt CALEDONII.

Et supra eos CALEDONIA SYLVA.

Quibus magis Orientales sunt CANTÆ.

Post quos LOGI^b contigui Cornabiis.

Et supra Logos^b MERTÆ sunt.

Sub Caledoniis autem VACOMAGI^c; apud quos hæ sunt urbes:

Banatia	-	-	24	—	59	30
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Tamia	-	-	25	—	59	20
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Alata Castra	-	-	27	15	59	20
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Tuefis	-	-	26	45	59	10
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Sub iis qui magis Occidentales sunt habitant VENI-CONTES^d: In quibus urbs.

Orrea ^e	-	-	24 ^f	15	58	45
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Deinde qui magis Orientales sunt

TEXALI.

Et urbs Devana	-	-	26	15	59	45 ^g
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[He then returns to the Brigantes, and England.]

INSULÆ autem adjacent Albioni juxta Orcada prom.

Ocetis insula	-	-	32	40	60	45
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Dumna insula	-	-	30	—	61	—
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Supra quam Orcades Insulæ sunt numero xxx. circiter; quarum medium gradus habet

-	30	—	61	40
---	----	---	----	----

Et super ipsas Thule est: cujus insulæ pars quæ maxime ad occasum tendit gradus habet

29	—	63	—
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^w 26, (1.) ^x Aremenium, 1. ^y Cornonacæ, 1. ^z Terini, 1. Cerini, 2. ^a Carnavii, 1. ^b Lugii, Lugos, 1. ^c Raconagi, 1. ^d Vernicomes, 1. ^e Orrhea, (1.) ^f 24, (1.) ^g 26 ½ 59, (1, 2.)

Quæ maxime ad ortum	-	31	40	63	—
Quæ maxime ad arctos	-	30 ^h	20	63	15
Quæ maxime ad austrum	-	30 ^h	20	62	40
Medium Insulæ		30 ^h	20	63	—

[*The Western Islands, from book II. c. 2. Ireland.*]

Hiberniæ superjacent quinque insulæ, Ebudæ nomine :
quarum occidentalior vocatur

Ebuda		15	—	62	—
Deinde quæ ad ortum extenditur					
similiter Ebuda	-	15	40	62	—
Postea Rhicina	-	17	—	62	—
Post Maleos	-	17	30	62	10
Post Epidium	-	18	30	62	—

* * * The Latin translation in the best edition of Ptolemy, that of Bertius, Amst. 1618, is often incorrectly printed in the numerals, and varies from the Greek : thus *Veruvium prom.* in the Greek has 30 : 50 in the Latin 39 : 50—*Ripa Alta* in Gr. 29, Lat. 39—*Orrea* Gr. 24. 15 = 58. 45, Lat. 26. 15 = 59. 45—*Devana*, Gr. 26. 15 = 59. 45, Lat. 19. 15 = 57. 45—*Thule* on east 31 in Gr. 21 in Lat. These shameful inaccuracies may shew how much a new edition of Ptolemy is wanted ; for they are mere errors, and not variations of the old Latin translation.

The author has perused this part of Ptolemy in 13 or 14 editions : but the only other remarkable variations are in that of 1482, or the second edition. To *Deva* it gives 17° for 18°—to *Lindum*, with all the Latin editions, it assigns 23°, tho the Greek erroneously has 20°—and between *Curia* and *Bremenium* it introduces a second *Alauna*, 23°—58²/₃° : it is believed rightly, for the Geographus Ravennas has another *Alauna*, as presently to be mentioned. The ed. 1482 has thus two *Alaunas*, but the old copiers seem to have omitted the second, as thinking it only the first misplaced. For *Ocetis* it reads *Scetis*, as does a fine Latin MS. in the Musæum, of Angelo's translation about 1450 ; that of Boetius is unfortunately lost. In both Greek and Latin *Devana* has 59—45, but it must be corrected 58—45, as all the maps bear, or 59, as edd. 1, 2.

NUMBER II. *Extracts from the Notitia Imperii, and the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna.*

NOTITIA.

B RITANNIARUM PROVINCIAE Quinque—
Maxima Cæsariensis. Valentia. Britannia Prima.
Britannia Secunda. Flavia Cæsariensis.

EQUITES intra Britannias cum viro spectabili **COMITE** Britanniarum—Equites Catafractarii Juniores. Equites Scutarii Aureliaci. Equites Honoriani Seniores. Equites Stablefiani. Equites Syri. Equites Taifali.

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis **VICARII** Britanniarum. Consulares—Maximæ Cæsariensis. Valentia—Præfides—Britannia Primæ. Britannia Secundæ. Flavia Cæsariensis.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis Vicarius hoc modo : Principem de schola Agentum in rebus ex Ducenariis. Cornicularium. Numerarios duos. Commentariensem. Ab actis. Curam Epistolarum. Adjutorem. Subadjuvas. Exceptores. Singulares et reliquos Officiales.

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis **Comitis** Britanniarum. Provincia Britannia.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis Comes hoc modo : Principem ex officio Magistri Militum præsentium alternis annis. Commentariensem, &c.

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum.
 —Præfectus legiones sextæ. Præfectus equitum Dalmatarum, *Præsidio*. Præfectus equitum Crispianorum, *Dano*. Præfectus equitum Catafractariorum *Morbio*. Præfectus Numeri Barcariorum Tigrisensium, *Arbeia*. Præfectus Numeri Nerviorum Dictensium, *Dicti*. Præfectus Numeri Vigilum, *Congangios*. Præfectus Numeri Exploratorum *Lavatres*. Præfectus Numeri Directorum Veterum. Præfectus Numeri Defensorum, *Braboniaco*. Præfectus Numeri Solensium, *Maglovæ*. Præfectus Numeri Pacensium, *Magis*. Præfectus Numeri Longovicariorum, *Longovico*. Præfectus Numeri Derventienfis, *Derventione*.

Item per lineam Valli.

Tribunus cohortis quartæ Lergorum, *Segeduno*. Tribunus cohortis Cornoviorum, *Ponte Ælii*. Præfectus alæ primæ Astorum, *Conderco*. Tribunus cohortis primæ Frixagorum, *Vindobala*. Præf. alæ Savinianæ, *Hunno*. Præf. alæ secundæ Astorum, *Cilurno*. Trib. cohortis primæ Batavorum, *Procolitia*. Trib. cohortis primæ Tungrorum, *Borcovico*. Trib. coh. quartæ Galorum, *Vindolana*. Trib. cohortis primæ Astorum, *Æfica*. Tr. coh. secundæ Dalmatarum, *Magnis*. Tr. coh. primæ Æliæ Dacorum *Amboglanna*. Præf. alæ Petrianæ, *Petrionis*. Pr. Numeri Maurorum Aureliano-
 rum, *Aballaba*. Tr. coh. secundæ Lergorum, *Congavata*. Tr. coh. primæ Hispanorum, *Axeloduno*. Tr. coh. secundæ Thracum, *Gabrosenti*. Tr. coh. primæ Æliæ Classicæ, *Tunnocelo*. Tr. coh. primæ Morinorum, *Glannibanta*. Tr. coh. tertiæ Nerviorum, *Alione*. Cuneus Armaturarum, *Bremetenraco*. Præf. alæ primæ Herculeæ, *Olenaco*. Tr. coh. sextæ Nerviorum *Viro-
 sido*.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis Dux hoc modo. Principem ex officiis Magistrorum, &c.

GEOGRAPHUS RAVENNAS.

THIS geographer seems to have lived in the eighth century. His work, tho written in the most barbarous style, is curious and valuable, but stands in need of an able and learned commentator.

In describing Britain, he mentions the arrival of the Saxons under Anschis, (Hengist); and says, the Gothic philosophers, that is Aithanarid, Heldebald, and Marcomir, whom he often quotes in his accounts, called this island a microcosm. He then gives a list of many *civitates et castra*, 'towns and camps', in Britain.

Tho he observes not much order in this list, yet he palpably begins with the southern part of Britain, and after passes to the north; as appears from many of his names to be found in Ptolemy, the Notitia, and Imperial Itinerary. His arrival at the north is marked by his first giving us many names together, to be found in the preceding *Per lineam Valli* of the Notitia, as *Gabrocentio, Derventione, Magnis, Vindolante, Cogangis, &c.* and next by his saying "Iterum sunt civitates in ipsa Britannia quæ recto tramite de una parte in alia, id est de oceano in oceano, et Siftuntiaci dividunt in tertia portione ipsam Britanniam, id est Serduno, Conderco, Vindovala, Onno, Celunno, Brocoliti," &c. For all these names are to be found in the above *Per lineam Valli* of the Notitia; only here they are corrupted, like the other names in the book, to a kind of Italian: and the Siftuntii, as well known, were in present Cumberland, close to Hadrian's wall.

Horsley in his *Britannia Romana* has therefor rightly put the following names as belonging to present Scotland.

"Clidum, CARBANTIUM, Tadoriton, Maporiton, Alitacenon, Loxa, Locatrene, Canibroiana, Smetri, UXELA, LUCOTION, CORDA, Camuloseffa, PRÆSIDIUM, Brigomono, Abisson, Ebio, Coritiotar, Celerion, Itucodon, Maremago, Duablisis, Venutio, TRIMUNTIUM,

TIUM, Eburocaſtum, BREMENIUM, Cocuneda, ALAUNA, Oleiclavis, Ejudensca, Rumabo. Iterum ſunt civitates in ipſa Britannia ubi plus anguſtiſſima de oceano in oceano eſſe diſcoſcitur. Id eſt Velunia, Volitanio, Pexa, Begeſe, COLANICA, MEDIO, Nemeton, Subdobion, Litana, Cibra, Credigone. Iterum eſt civitas, quæ dicitur Iana, Manlion, Demeroſeſa, Cindocelum, Cermo, Veromo, Matovion, Ugrulentum, Ranatonium, IBERRAN, Præmatis, TUESSIS, Ledone, Litinomago, DEVONI, Memanturum, Decha, Bograndium, Ugueſte, Leviodanum, Pareo Claſſis, Levioxana, Cermium, VICTORIÆ, Marcotaxon, Tagea, Voran."

The following iſlands, from his account, clearly belong to the Hebudes in part.

"Iterum ipſi oceano occidentali ponuntur diverſæ inſulæ, ex quibus aliquantas nominare volumus; id eſt Corſula, MONA, REGAINA, Minervæ, Cunis, MANNA, Botis, Vinion, Saponis, Suſura, Birila, Elaviani, Sobrica, Scetis, Linnonſa."

He then adds the following iſlands, which may perhaps be the Scilly iſlands, or ſome others in the weſtern ocean, for none of their names ſeem to infer any of the Hebudes. "Item ad aliam partem dicitur inſula Maganica, Anas, Cana, Atino, Elete, Daroccla, Eſſigradena, Maiona, Longis, Cirimon, Exofadeos, ubi et gemmæ naſcuntur." He immediately adds, "Legimus ut in ipſo oceano jam expleta parte occidentali, tanquam ad partem ingredientes meridianam, ſunt inſulæ numero triginta tres, quæ et Dorcadas appellatur." This intelligence that the Orkneys lay on the ſouth of the weſtern ocean is ſingular: but this writer alſo ſays, that the Orkneys are on the eaſt of Britain; Gaul and the Pyrenees on the weſt; Ireland on the north; and Germany on the ſouth!

But errors in the greater parts of geography invalidate not his names of places in Britain, which deſerve a few remarks. The towns put in capital letters are found in Ptolemy, the Notitia, and the Itinerary given by Richard of Cirenceſter. The others are unknown. Horſley conjectures that *Clidum* is Glaſgow, upon no grounds, it being put among the towns near the wall of Hadrian. For it is clear from the author's mention of the Siſtuntii, and from his after paſſing to the towns ſituated where Britain is narroweſt, that is at the wall of Antoninus, that he underſtood the *Per lineam Valli* of the Notitia to refer

refer to the wall of Hadrian. This seems to confirm Horsley's account of the stations, controverted in p. 51. of this volume. At same time it serves to establish that curious fact, that the Roman walls were not the utmost bounds of their power in Britain; for while they held Valentia, still the stations were at the southern wall, that is this wall was the real fortified barrier. *Carbantium* is palpably the *Carbantium* of Richard, and *Carbantorigum* of Ptolemy, now thought to be Kircudbright. *Uxella* is the *Uxellum* of Ptolemy. *Lucotia* the *Lucopibia*. *Coria* is the southern *Coria* of Ptolemy. *Trimuntium* is the *Trimontium* of Ptolemy. *Bremenium* lay near it, but in present England. The *Alauna* here seems evidently a station on the river Alauna near Bremenium; if the geographer has not confounded the river itself with a station; for it cannot be Alauna on the north of Forth, the other names all lying near the southern wall, as the author says, and as evident from those known. Horsley's conjectures that Alitacenon is Elgin; Loxa, Innerlochy; Celerion, Calendar; Duablisis, Duplin; &c. are therefor ridiculously absurd, and founded merely on an imagined resemblance of names.

The geographer next passes to the places near the narrowest part of Britain, that is near the wall of Antoninus between Clyde and Forth. Of these *Calanica*, or *Colania*, is found in Ptolemy and Richard, and thought to be present Lanerk. *Medio* is found in Richard's Itinerary, nine miles on the north of Orrea, or near the Tay: but possibly there was another in the middle of the wall of Antoninus. The other names here are quite unknown.

Our author then passes to other places, which, as we can judge from the few known, were more to the north than the former. *Tueffis* and *Victoria* are known from Ptolemy. *Iberran* seems the *Hierna* of Richards. *Devoni*, the *Devana* of Ptolemy. *Tagea*, the *Tamea* of Ptolemy. The dreams of Horsley on the rest are beneath notice.

Of the islands *Mona* is Anglesey. *Manna*, Maun. *Regaina* is surely the *Ricina* of Ptolemy, the *Racina* of Richard, or *Rachlin*. *Boris* seems Bute. *Scetis*, Scia or Skey. The rest can hardly be guessed at.

NUMBER III. *Description of Caledonia, from Richard of Cirencester, Book I. c. 6.*

VESPASIANA, or ROMAN CALEDONIA.

EXTRA murum sita provincia VESPASIANA. Hæc est illa Caledonia, regio a Romanis nimium quantum et desiderata, militibus et incolis valde defensa. Negotium cujus amplam Historiæ Romanæ, alias nimis de istiusmodi rebus silentes, mentionem faciunt. Hic fluvium Tavum conspicere licet, qui longo cursu regionem in duas quasi partes dissecare videtur. Hic quoque arduum atque horrendum jugum Grampium offendimus, quod Provinciam istam bifariam secabat. Atque hæc eadem erat regio quæ, a commisso inter Agricola et Galgacum prælio, Romanis utilissimo, famam in annalibus habet insignem. Hic vires eorum, veteresque castramentationes, hodieque magnitudo ostendit mænium. Nam in loco ubi ingens supradictum prælium habitum erat, quidam ordinis nostri, hanc viam emensi, affirmant se immania videresse castra, aliaque argumenta Taciti relationem confirmantia.

Nationes vero Romanis hic subjectæ ordine jam sequuntur. Ultra isthmum usque ad Tavum gens erant HORESTII, quorum urbes post prætenturam quidem extructam (prius enim Damniis accensebantur) fuerunt *Alauna*, *Lindum*, et re non minus quam nomine reliquis gloriosior *Victoria*, ab Agricola ad flumen Tavum xx. milliaria ab ejusdem in mare exitu ædificata, memoriæ proditum dicunt.

Supra hos ultra Tavum, qui limites constituit, erant VECTURONES, sive Venricones, quorum urbs primaria *Orrea*, fluvii vero *Æfica* et *Tina*.

Oceani littus ultra horum fines accolebant TAIXALI. His urbium princeps *Divana*: fluvii autem *Deva* et *Ituna*. Pars Grampii montis, quæ ut promontorium late se in oceanum, quasi in Germaniæ occursum, extendit, ab illis nomen mutuatur.

His

His contermini ad occidentem, interveniente montium Grampiorum serie, extitere VACOMAGI qui amplissimam regionem tenebant, quorum urbes *Tueffis*, *Tamea*, et *Banatia*. Romanorum autem statio, simulque Provinciæ urbs primaria, erat ad ostium fluvii *Varar* in littore situm, *Ptoroton*. Notiores hujus regionis fluvii præter Vararem, qui Provinciam terminabat, fuerunt *Tueffis* et *Celnus*.

Infra Vacomagos, Tavunique, habitabant DAMNIALBANI: gentes parum notæ, et intra lacuum montiumque claustra plane reconditæ.

Inferius adhuc Clottæ ripas accolebant ATTACOTI, gens toti aliquando olim Britanniæ formidanda. Maximus hic visitur lacus, cui nomen olim *Lyncalidor*; ad cujus ostium condita a Romanis urbs *Alcluith*, brevi tempore a duce *Theodosio* nomen fortita, qui occupatam a barbaris provinciam recuperaverat: cum hac comparari potuit nulla; utpote quæ post fractas cæteras circumjacentes provincias impetum hostium ultimo sustinuit.

Hæc Provincia dicta est in honorem familiæ Flaviæ, cui suam Domitianus Imperator originem debuit, et sub quo expugnata, VESPASIANA. Et ni fallor sub ultimis imperatoribus nominata erat THULE, de qua Claudianus vates his versibus facit mentionem:

—— incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule;
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

Sed non tam diu sub aquila suoapte tenuerunt Romani, ut posteritati innotescerent ejusdem et nomina et subiectio. Cursorio hucusque oculo qualis sub Romanorum Imperio erat Britanniam lustravimus: restat ut parili compendio Caledoniorum terras lustremus.

DE CALEDONIA.

LICET tota ultra isthmum prædictum Britannia non improprie dici potest Caledonia, ipsi tamen Caledonii ultra Vararem sedem habuere; unde ducta linea terminum Romani in Britanniam imperii accurate satis ostendit. Citerior vero insulæ pars alio atque alio tempore ab illis possessa fuit: reliqua ut supra meminimus a Britonibus barbaris occupata. Hucusque et proficiscentibus lumen aliquod fænerant antiqua historiarum monumenta. Trajicientes autem Varar flumen extincto lumine, in obscuro quasi versamur; et (quamvis non nobis ignotum sit extractas ibi pro limitibus Imperii Romani fuisse aras, Ulyssæmque tempestate fluctibusque jactatum heic vota persolvisse,) siquidem condensæ arboribus sylvæ, cum perpetuis montium saxetis, ab ulteriori nos scrutatione prohibent. Relationem sequentem a mercatoribus Britonibus fugitivis acceptam, posterisque relictam, ut sufficientem æstimemus necesse est.

Ad Occidentem igitur Vararis habitabant CALEDONII, proprie sic dicti; quorum regionis partem tegebat immensa illa CALEDONIA SYLVA.

Littus incolebant minores quidam populi; ex quorum numero, ultra Vararem, et erectas supradictas aras ad *Loxam* fluvium, habitabant CANTÆ; in quorum finibus promuntorium *Penoxullum*.

Huic ordine proximus est fluvius *Abona*, ejusdemque accolæ LOGI. Hinc *Ila* fluvius; et ad illum siti CARNABII, Brittonum extremi, qui ab Ostorio Proprietore subjugati, jugum Romanum indigne ferentes, adscitis in societatem Cantiis, ut referunt traditiones, trajectoque mari ibi sedem eligunt. In varia heic promuntoria sese extendit Britannia, quorum primum antiquis dictum *Vinvedrum*; tum *Verubrium*, aut extremitas Caledoniæ.

Post illos CATINI. Deinde interiores, Logisque proximi MERTÆ siti sunt. In his oris promuntorium *Orcadum* positum. Cui adjacebant Orcades insulæ. Ulterius

terius manabat *Nabæus* fluvius, qui terminus erat Carnabicæ jurisdictionis.

Ad inferiorem hujus regionis partem habitabant *CARNONACÆ*; in quorum finibus *promuntorium Ebudum*, ad cuius extrema eximium Oceanus finem efformat, qui olim *Volsas* appellatus. Ad inferiorem istius finus ripam tendebant *CERONES*; et infra *Ityn*, *CREONES*. Ad *Longum* usque procurrit inde, Oceanum inter et finem *Lelanum*, dictum ab incolis *EPIDIIS promuntorium*.

Provectus jam ultra flumen *Vararis* idem illud rememtori non possum, quin in transgressu admirer Romanos, aliàs satis expertos iudicio atque experientia, heic quasi destitutos, tam perabsurda opinione laborasse ut istam Britannicæ partem, quæ jam armis ipsorum intacta quiescebat, reliquam jam subactam atque possessam longe majori et longitudine et latitudine metirentur, quam tamen eos fovisse opinionem satis superque constat. Qui enim ea qua par est mente insignem Romanorum ambitionem, atque insatiabilem regnandi cupidinem, consideraverit; et quo hostem, vix ira ipsorum et notitia nedum timore dignum, excluderent, stupenda ista, quæ totum orbem in admirationem sui facile trahunt, opera erexisse. In hoc, ut in cæteris quam plurimis, magnam summi Numinis merito providentiam veneremur, cui ut omnia subjecta sunt regna, ita et sempiterna ab incolis gloria debetur et erit. Amen.

Lib. I. c. 7. ITER VIII. A Luguballio Plorotonim usque sic: Trimontio m. p. Gadanica m. p. . . . Corio m. p. . . . ad Vallum m. p. . . . Incipit Vespasiana. Alauna m. p. XII. Lindo VIII. Victoria VIII. ad Hiernam VIII. Orrea XIII. ad Tavum XVIII. ad Æficam XXIII. ad Tinam VIII. Devana XXIII. ad Itunam XXIII. ad montem Grampium . . . ad Selinam Tueffis XVIII. Ptorotone

ITER X. Ab ultima Ptorotone per mediam insulam Isca Damnoniorum usque. Sic. Varis m. p. VIII. ad Tueffim XVIII. Tamea XXVIII. m. p. XXI. In Medio VIII. Orrea VIII. Victoria XVIII. ad Vallum XXXII. Luguballia LXXX. &c.

NUMBER IV. *Dio's Account of the Expedition of Severus into Caledonia.*

A Fragment of Dio in the excerpts of Theodosius, published by Leunclavius, bears the following short notice concerning the Caledonians, just before the battle between Severus and Albinus, or the year of Christ 198. "Then also in Britain, because the Caledonii did not abide by their engagements, but were prepared to defend the Mæataë, while Severus at that time was intent on the approaching war, Lupus was forced to purchase peace of the Mæataë, by paying a large sum of money, getting back however a few captives." It is well known that there are more coins of Commodus with BRITANNIA, or VICTORIA BRIT. than of Antoninus Pius or Severus: and it appears that Marcellus, the general of Commodus in Britain, subdued the Mæataë, and forced the Caledonians to the above mentioned engagements, about the year 183.

But before Severus went into Britain his generals there had obtained some advantage, for Dio mentions his anger that he could not seize Bulas the robber, "while by the help of others he subdued his foes in Britain." Then follows the account of his celebrated expedition into Britain, as excerpted by Xiphilin, for the greater part of Dio's history is lost.

"After this Severus proceeded into Britain with his army, perceiving that his sons were intemperate, and that the legions dissolving in ease became corrupt. This expedition he entered upon, tho he knew that he should never return, by considering the stars under which he was born: and whose appearance he had caused to be painted in the cieling of the hall in the palace, where he gave judgment, evident to all; except as to the hour of his birth by the Greeks called horoscope, for this he delineated on both sides in different ways. He also knew his fate from the sooth-sayers. For a thunderbolt struck that gate, thro which he was to lead his army, and dashed out three letters of his name. Severus therefor,

as

as was foretold by the sooth-sayers, never did return, but died the third year after, having amassed great treasures."

"Of the [barbaric] Britons there are two great nations, called Caledonii and Mæataë; for the rest are generally referred to these. The Mæataë dwell near that wall which divides the island into two parts. The Caledonians inhabit beyond them. They both possess rugged and dry mountains, and desert plains full of marshes. They have neither castles nor towns; nor do they cultivate the ground; but live on their flocks and hunting, and the fruits of some trees; not eating fish, tho extremely plenteous. They live in tents, naked and without buskins. Wives they have in common, and breed up their children in common. The general form of government is democratic. They are addicted to robbery; fight in cars; have small and swift horses. Their infantry are remarkable for speed in running, and for firmness in standing. Their armour consists of a shield; and a short spear, in the lower end of which is a brazen apple, whose sound, when struck, may terrify the enemy; they have also daggers. Famine, cold, and all sorts of labour they can bear, for they will even stand in their marshes for many days, up to the neck in water, and in the woods will live on the bark and roots of trees. They prepare a certain kind of food on all occasions, of which taking only a bit the size of a bean, they feel neither hunger nor thirst. Such is Britain, and such are the inhabitants of that part, which wars against the Romans. That it is an island has been shewn before. Its length is seven thousand one hundred and thirty-two stadia: its utmost breadth two thousand three hundred and ten stadia; its least breadth three hundred stadia."

"Of this island not much less than the half is ours. Severus wishing to reduce the whole under his power entered into Caledonia. In his march he met with unspeakable difficulties, in cutting down woods, levelling eminences, raising banks across the marshes, and building bridges over the rivers. He fought no battle, the enemy never appearing in array, but advisedly placing sheep and oxen in the way of our troops, that while our soldiers attempted to seize them, and by the fraud were drawn into defiles, they might be easily cut off. The lakes likewise were destructive to our men, as dividing them, so that they fell into ambuscades; and

while they could not be brought off, were slain by our army, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Owing to these causes, there died no less than fifty thousand of our troops. Severus however did not desist till he had reached the extreme part of the island, where he diligently remarked the diversity of the solar course, and the length of the nights and days in summer and winter. At last, after having been carried thro most of the hostile land, (for because of his weakness he was generally borne in an open litter), he returned to the friendly part of Britain, the [barbaric] Britons being forced to conclude an alliance, on condition that they should yield up no small part of their country."

Xiphilin from Dio then relates that Severus, in a conference with the Caledonians, had almost been slain by his son Antoninus Caracalla. He then adds:

"After this the Britons again revolted; upon which Severus assembling his army, ordered them to invade the country, and to give no quarter; repeating these verses:

Let none escape your hands, and cruel slaughter,
Not even the babe yet guiltless in the womb.

And finding that the Caledonii as well as the Mæatae had arisen, he prepared to conduct the war himself, but was prevented by death." Xiphilin last mentions as happening during the short truce, the noted reply of a Caledonian lady to Julia the empress,

NUMBER V. *The fabulous account of Britain given by Procopius translated.*

Procopius de Bello Gothico, lib. IV. cap. 20.

ABOUT that time * the warlike people who inhabit the island called BRITANIA, fought with the *Varni*; the war having arisen from this cause: The *Varni* dwell beyond the river *Ister* †, and extend to the Northern Ocean, and to the river *Rhine*, which divides them from the *Franks*, and other neighbouring nations. Of the nations who anciently inhabited either bank of the *Rhine*, each had its peculiar name. Of these nations one is now called Germans, a name formerly common to all. The island of BRITANIA is situated in this ocean, not more than two hundred stadia from the continent, and opposite the mouth of the *Rhine*, being between BRITAIN and the island THULE. But BRITAIN, lying toward the setting sun, where it is opposite to furthest Spain, is about four thousand stadia from the continent. BRITANIA is opposite to the furthest parts of Gaul, which stretch to the ocean, being on the northern side of SPAIN and BRITAIN. THULE, so far as mortals can discover, is removed to the extreme of the Northern Ocean. But I have spoken of BRITAIN and THULE in former books.

The island of BRITANIA is inhabited by three most numerous nations, each under its proper king, namely, the ANGLI, FRISONES, and the BRITTONS synonymous with the island. So great is the multitude of its people, that every year, not a few, with their wives and children, migrate into *France*, where habitations in desert grounds are assigned them: whence it is said the *Franci* claim some right to the island itself ‡. Certainly the king of the *Franci*, not long ago, when he

* Ch. 17. Silk-worms brought to the west, 22 &c. wars of Narfes with Totilas, A. D. 550.

† Procopius wrote in Palestine.

‡ Accurate reasoner !

sent some of his familiar servants ambassadors to Justinian the emperor, joined some ANGLI to their train; proudly shewing that he also commanded this island. So much for the island BRITTIA.

Not long ago HERMEGISCLUS reigned over the *Varni*. He desiring to strengthen his kingdom, had married the sister of THEODEBERT, king of the *Franci*; his former wife, who left him one son, called RADIGER, being lately dead. Him the father espoused to a virgin of BRITTIA, whose brother was then king of the ANGLI, and in the name of marriage-gift HERMEGISCLUS sent her a great sum of money. On a time, riding in the fields with the chiefs of the *Varni*, he saw a bird sitting on a tree, and croaking disagreeably. Then, either that he understood the song of the bird, or pretended to know an omen from it, he immediately said to his company, that he should die in forty days, as he learned from the augury of the bird; then added, “But i have exerted all my prudence that you should
“live in safety and ease, and for that cause have contracted an affinity with the *Franci*, having married my
“wife from their race, and espoused my son to a wife
“from BRITTIA. Yet now, when i know that i shall
“shortly die, nor have received either male or female
“offspring from my last marriage, nor is my son’s
“marriage yet consummated, hear my advice, and if
“you see good, follow it as soon as i depart this life.
“I think then that the affinity of the *Franci* is of more
“importance to us *Varni*, than that of the islanders; for
“the BRITTI cannot enter into commerce with us,
“but with difficulty; while only the river Rhine separates us from the *Franci*. Wherefore while these last
“are near, and very powerful, they can easily do us
“good or evil, when they please: and must be our enemies unless joined by affinity. For such is the nature of
“men, that they hardly bear the power of a neighbour
“greater than their own; and thus are ready to injure,
“for a strong neighbour easily finds occasions of war.
“Wherefore send to the island-bride of my son, and
“whatever money she has received from us as a marriage gift, let her keep it, to atone for the ignominy,
“as the common law of mankind orders. But let
“RADIGER, my son, marry his step-mother, since the
“law of our country permits.”

Having

Having spoken thus he died, the fortieth day after the prediction. The son of HERMEGISCLUS succeeding to the kingdom of the *Varni*, by the advice of the chiefs of that barbarous nation, followed the counsel of the deceased king; and immediately renouncing his bride, married his step-mother. Which when his bride heard, impatient of the indignity, she eagerly desired revenge. For these barbarians value modesty so much, that a woman seems to have forfeited it who is betrothed but fails of marriage. And first by some of her familiar friends, whom she sent to RADIGER, she enquired the cause why she was so basely left, when she had in no shape violated her faith. But this way availing nothing, with a manly mind she prepared for war. Immediately therefore making ready four hundred ships, filled with at least ten thousand soldiers, she herself led this army against the *Varni*: having taken with her, to assist in the management of her affairs, one of her brothers, not the king, but a private man. But these islanders are, of all the barbarians we know, the bravest. They fight on foot, not only ignorant of riding, but ignorant what a horse is, the image of one being never seen in that country. For this animal is never beheld in BRITTIA; and if at any time these islanders, on account of an embassy, or the like, have any business with the *Romans*, or *Franci*, or any other people using horses, and must then of necessity ride, they know not how to leap on a horse, but are lifted up by others; and when they wish to dismount, are helped down. The *Varni* are also not horsemen, but all fight on foot. Such are these barbarians. All are rowers aboard their vessels; and no other sea-service is required; for they use no sails, but always navigate with oars.

After they landed on the continent, the virgin-general raising a rampart near the mouth of the Rhine, remained there with a few troops; and desired her brother to lead the rest against the enemy. Then the *Varni* formed their camp, not far from the sea and mouths of the Rhine, where, when the *ANGLI* soon arrived, battle was joined, and the *Varni* defeated with great slaughter, the survivors flying with the king. The *ANGLI* pursuing them but a little way, as foot-men could do, returned to their camp. The virgin bitterly reviled them, and loaded her brother with reproaches; affirming

affirming that they had done nothing, who had not brought RADIGER to her alive. Having then chosen a band of the bravest, she ordered them to use every means to take him. They obeying her carefully, searched all the region round, till they found RADIGER lurking in a thick wood, and brought him bound before the virgin, while he stood trembling in expectation of immediate death. But she, beyond hope, neither punished him capitally, nor severely; but thinking it enough to reproach him for his conduct, she asked him the cause why, breaking his faith, he had wedded another, and that while his bride was free from fault? He, excusing the deed, pleaded the command of his father, and the advice of his chiefs: and with earnest entreaty, ascribing his crime to necessity, he promised to be her husband if she would, and to atone for his faults by future offices. The maid consenting, RADIGER was freed from his chains, and kindly treated. Soon after having sent back the sister of THEODEBERT, he married the virgin of BRITTIA. So ended this matter.

In that island, BRITTIA, the ancients built a long wall, which divides a great part of it from the other; because that the affections of the soil and sky, and all things else, differ much in these two parts. For the region which reaches from the wall to the rising sun, enjoys a healthy heaven, and just seasons; the summer being temperately hot, the winter moderately cold; and it abounds with inhabitants who live like other people. The trees shine with fruits in their seasons, and happy harvests rise, as elsewhere; the land is also peculiarly blest with wealth of water. But on the west all is quite the contrary, so that a man could not live there half an hour. Vipers, innumerable serpents, and venomous beasts of all kinds, obtain that region. Nay, what is very remote from common ideas, the BRITTI relate that if any man passes over the wall, he that moment expires, oppressed with the pestilent gale. Animals also who go beyond the wall are seized with instant death. And since I am fallen upon this part of history, it becomes necessary to commemorate a matter very like a fable. Which however I do not think true, tho related by many people, who asserted their being on the spot where it happens, and their hearing what was said. Nor do I think proper to pass this, least in describing the affairs of the ile BRITTIA, I should seem ignorant of any one of them. They

They relate therefore that the souls of dead men are accustomed to be carried there : and the manner this is done i shall soon declare, as i have heard it from the inhabitants of these parts, who related it very seriously : which, however commonly told, i imagine to be delusions of sleep. Many villages croud the shore of the region opposite to the island BRITTIA ; in which villages dwell fishers, farmers, and others, who navigate into that island for the sake of trade. They are subject to the kings of the *Franci*, but always free from tribute, being relieved of old from this burden, on account of some service of which i shall now speak. The natives tell, that they have power, each in his turn, of bringing souls into this other world. Wherefore they, who are to enjoy that privilege next night, going to their houses fall asleep, expecting the president of the business. Late at night they hear knocking at their doors, and an obscure voice summon them to the task. Rejecting all delay, they rise from their beds, and go to the shore, ignorant by what force they are driven, but yet absolutely forced. There they see boats ready, not their own, but others, and empty. Entering them they seize the oars, and perceive the vessels quite full of passengers, so that they are immerst to within an inch of the water. They see nobody ; nor do they take more than an hour to reach BRITTIA, altho when they use their own vessels, and oars alone without sails, they hardly pass thither in a day and a night. Arriving at the ile, as soon as they find their passengers landed, they depart ; the vessels being suddenly unloaded, and so emergent that the keels alone are under water. They see none, either navigating or leaving the ship ; only they assert they hear a voice which seems to repeat the name of each passenger, his former station of life, and the name of his father. If any women are with them, the names of their husbands are also called. So the natives report. But i return to my subject.

NUMBER VI. *Some Passages in Adomnan's Life of Columba, omitted in the printed Copies.*

ADOMNANI VITA COLUMBÆ, *Bib. Reg. 8 D. IX.*

Lib. I. *Post c. 6. suscepit.*

De belorum fragoribus longe commissorum beati propheta viri.

POST bellum Culedrebene, sicuti nobis traditum est, duobus transactis annis, quo tempore vir beatus de Scotia peregrinaturus primitus enavigavit, quadam die, hoc est eadem hora qua in Scotia commissum est bellum, quod Scotice dicitur *Ondemone*, idem homo Dei coram CONALLO rege filio COMGIL in Bryttania conversatus, per omnia enarravit; tam de bello commissio, quam etiam de illis regibus, quibus Dominus de inimicis victoriam condonavit. Quorum propria vocabula ANMORIUS filius SCETNI; et duo filii MAICERCE, DOMNALLUS et FORCUS. Se et de rege *Cruithnorum*, qui ECHUVISLAID vocitabatur, quemadmodum victus, currui insidens, evaserit, prophetizavit similiter sanctus.

C. 7. De bello Miathorum.

C. 8. De tribus filiis suis regnaturus, ARCURIUS an ECHODIUS FIND, an DOMINGARTUS.

Euchodius, leg. ECHODIUS BUIDE.

Adimpleta sunt, adde: Nam ARTURIUS (sic) et ECHODIUS FIND, non longo post temporis intervallo Micitorum (sic, lege Miatorum) superius memorato in bello trucidati sunt. DOMINGARTUS vero in Saxonia, bellica in strage interfectus est. ECHODIUS autem BUIDE post patrem in regnum successit.

C. 9. 'Ad S'tum Columbam in Dorso Cetæ per nutritores adductus est.'

Post c. 10 (De Scandlano.)

De Duobus aliis regnatoribus, qui duo nepotes MUIRETHACHI vocitabantur, BAITANUS filius MAICERCE, et EUCHUDIUS filius DOMNAIL, beati propheta viri.

Alio in tempore, per asperam et saxosam regionem iter faciens, quæ dicitur Ardamuircol et suos audiens comites,

comites, LAISRANUM utique filium FERADACHI, et DERMICIUM ministratorem, de duobus supra memoratis regibus in via fermocinari, hæc ad eos verba depromit, “O filioli, quare inaniter de his sic confabulamini? Nam illi ambo reges de quibus nunc sermocinamini nuper ab inimicis decapitati disperiere. In hac quoque die aliqui de Scocia adventantes nautæ hæc eadem vobis de illis indicabunt regibus.” Quod venerabilis viri vaticinium eadem die de Hybernia navigatores, ad locum qui dicitur *Muirbolc paradisi* pervenientes, superscriptis ejus bini comitibus, et in eadem navi cum sancto navigantibus, de hisdem interfectis regibus expletum retulerunt.

De OINGUSIO filio AIDO COMANI, Sancti propheta viri.

Hic namque de patria, cum aliis duobus fratribus, effugatus, ad Sanctum in Brittania peregrinantem, exul venit. Cuique benedicens hæc de eo prophetizans sancto promit de pectore verba. “Hic juvenis, defunctis ejus ceteris fratribus, superstes remanens multo est regnaturus in patria tempore, et inimici ejus coram ipso cadent. Nec tamen ipse unquam in manus tradetur inimicorum; sed morte placida senex inter amicos morietur.” Quæ omnia juxta sancti verbum plene sunt adimpleta. Hic est OINGUSIUS cujus cognomentum BRONBACHAL.

De filio DERMITI regis, qui AIDUS SLANE lingua nominatus est Scottica, propheta beati viri.

Alio in tempore, cum vir beatus in Scocia per aliquot demoraretur dies, ad supradictum AIDUM (ad se venientem) sic propheticè locutus ait. “Precavere debes, fili! ne tibi a Deo totius Hiberniæ regni prerogativam monarchiæ prædestinatam, paricidali faciente peccato, amittas. Nam si quandoque illud commiseris, non toto patris regno sed ejus aliqua parte in gente tua, brevi finieris tempore.” Quæ verba sancti sic sunt expleta, secundum ejus vaticinationem. Nam post SUIBNEUM filium COLUMBANI dolo ab eo interfectum, non plus ut fertur, quam quatuor annis, et tribus mensibus, regni concessa potitus est parte.

De Rege RODERCO filio TOTAIL, qui Petra Clotthe regnavit, beati viri prophetia.

Alio IDEM in tempore, ut erat Sancti viri amicus, aliquam ad eum occultam per LUGBEUM MOCUMIN, legationem misit, scire volens si ab inimicis esset trucidandus, an non. At vero LUGBEUS a Sancto interrogatus, de eodem rege, et regno, et populo ejus, respondens, quasi misertus dicit: "Quid de illo inquiris
" misero, qui qua hora ab inimicis occidatur nullo
" modo sciri potest?" Sanctus tum deinde profatur:
" Nunquam in manus tradetur inimicorum; sed in
" sua, super suam plumatiunculam, morietur domo." Quod sancti de rege RODERCO vaticinium plene adimpletum est. Nam juxta verbum ejus domo sua morte placida obiit.

(Tunc, c. 11. et post.)

De COLGIO AIDO, DRAIGNICHE filio, a nepotibus FECHUREG orto; et de quodam occulto matris ejus plebato, prophetia Sancti.

Alio in tempore supra memoratum COLGIUM apud se in Hyona commorantem insula, Sanctus de sua interrogat genitrice, si esset religiosa, an non. Cui ipse inquires ait bene moratam, &c.

De LAISRANO ORTHOLANO homine sancto.

Vir beatus quendam de suis monachum, nomine TRENANUM, gente MOCURUNTIR legatum ad Scotiam, &c.

(Post. c. 12.)

De quodam BAITANO, qui cum ceteris, desertum marinum appetens, enavigaverat, Sancti prophetia viri.

Alio in tempore quidam BAITANUS, gente nepos MATHALOIRC, benedici a sancto petivit cum ceteris in mari heremum quesiturus, &c.

*De NEMANO quodam fælo penitente.**Post 13. De i vocali litera.**De libro in aquarum vas sicuti prædixerat cadente.**De corniculo attramenti inaniter defuso.**De alicujus adventu hospitis, quem sanctus pronunciavit.**De aliquo miserabili viro qui ultra supra-dictum clamitabat fretum.**Tunc 14. Romani juris civitas.**C. 19. pro Scocia lege Scia.**Post 19. 3 fol. et inter alia.*

Sed et illud non est tacendum quod aliquando de tali incomparabili vocis ejus sublevatione, juxta Brudei regis municionem, accidisse traditur. Nam ipse sanctus cum paucis fratribus, extra regis municionem dum vespertinales Dei laudes ex more celebraret, quidam magi ad eos propius accedentes, in quantum poterant prohibere conabantur, ne de ore ipsorum divinæ laudis sonus inter gentiles audiretur. Quo comperto sanctus quadragesimum et quartum psalmum decantare cepit. Mirumque in modum ita vox ejus in aere eodem momento, instar alicujus formidabilis tonitruï elavata est, ut et rex et populus intolerabili essent pavore perterriti.

*De quodam divite qui LUGUDIUS CLODIUS vocitabatur.**(Post. c. 30.)**De bello quod in municione Cethirni post multa commissum est tempora; et de quodam fonticulo ejusdem terrulæ proximo; sancti prescientia viri.*

Alio in tempore vir beatus cum post regum in *Dorso Cetæ* * condictum, AIDI videlicet filii AMMIRECH, et AIDANI filii GABRANI, ad campos reverteretur equos, ipse et COMGELLUS abbas, quadam ferena estivi temporis die, haud procul a super memorata municione resident. Tum proinde aqua de quodam proximo, ad manus lavandas, fonticulo ad sanctos in eneo deferitur vasculo, quam cum COLUMBA accepisset ad abbatem COMGELLUM a latere sedentem sic profatur. “Ille fonticulus, O COMGELLE, de quo hæc effusa nobis allata est aqua, veniet dies quum nullis

* Drumkeat in Hibernia.

“ usibus

“ufibus humanis aptus erit.” “Qua caufa,” ait COM-
 GELLUS, “ejus fontana corrumpetur unda?” Sanctus
 tunc COLUMBA: “Quum humano,” inquit, “cruore
 “replebitur. Nam mei cognitionales amici, et tui fe-
 “cundum carnem cognati, hoc eft, NELLIS nepotes, et
 “CRUTHINI populi, in hac vicina municione *Cechirni*,
 “belligerantes, committent bellum. Unde infuper
 “memorato fonte aliquis de mea cognitione trucidabi-
 “tur humuncio; cujus cum ceteris interfecti sanguine
 “ejusdem fonticuli locus replebitur.” Quæ ejus veri-
 dica, fuo tempore, poft multos vaticinatio expleta eft
 annos. In quo bello, ut multi norunt populi, DOM-
 NALLUS AIDI filius victor fullimatus eft: et in eodem,
 fecundum sancti vaticinium viri, fonticulo quidam de
 parentela ejus interfectus eft homo. Alius michi
 ADOMNANO Christi miles, FINANUS nomine, qui vi-
 tam multis anachoreticam annis juxta *Roboreti* monaf-
 terium *Campi* irreprehenfibiliter ducebat, de eodem
 bello, fe prefente commiffo aliqua enarrans, proteftatus
 eft in fupradiâta fonte truncum cadaverinum vidiffe,
 eademque die ad monafterium sancti COMGELLI, quod
 Scottice dicitur *Cambas*, commiffo reverfum bello, quia
 inde prius venerat; ibidemque duos sancti COMGELLI
 monachos reperiffe. Quibus cum de bello coram fe
 aâto, et de fonticulo humano cruore corrupto, ali-
 quanta enarravit, illi confequenter: “Verus eft propheta
 “COLUMBA,” aiunt “qui hæc omnia quæ hodie de
 “bello, et de fonticulo, expleta enarras, ante mul-
 “tos annos futura nobis audientibus coram sancto
 “COMGELLO, juxta *Cethirin* fedens municionem, præ-
 “nunciaverat.”

LIBER II.

Cap. 32. *De FENTENI filii ALDO, in extremis pofiti
 fanitate.*

Alio quoque in tempore sanctus, cum trans *Britani-
 cum* iter ageret *Dorſum*, quidam juvenis, unus comitum,
 fubita moleftatus egrimonia ad extrema ufque perductus,
 nomine FENTENUS. Pro quo commilitones sanctum
 mœſti rogitant ut oraret. Qui ſtatim eis compaciens,
 ſanctas cum intenta oratione, expandit ad cælum manus,
 egroque

egroque benedicens, ait: "Hic, pro quo interpellatis
 "juvenculus, viva vivet longa; et post omnem nostrum,
 "qui hic assumus, exitum superstes remanebit, in
 "bona moriturus senectâ." Quod beati vivi vaticinium
 plene per omnia expletum est. Nam idem juvenis, illius
 postea monasterii fundator quod dicitur *Kailli An find*,
 in bona senectute presentem terminavit vitam.

Cap. 47. Pictorum plebe et Scottorum Britanniae,
 quos utrosque *Dorsi* montes *Britannici* determinant.

A great plague thro all the world in Adomnan's time,
 nostris temporibus—Piks and Scots of Britain only ex-
 cepted. Nos—et in Saxonia regem Alfridum visitan-
 ter amicum, adhuc non cessante pestilentia, et multos
 hinc inde vicos devastante, ita tamen nos Dominus, et in
 prima post bellum Egfridi visitatione, et in secunda in-
 terjectis duobus annis, in tali mortalitatis medio deam-
 bulantes periculo liberavit.

* * * These few passages are only given as illustra-
 tive of this work. The others to be found in
 this MS. are too numerous for insertion.

NUMBER VII. *The CONTENTS of, and EXTRACTS from, the Register of the Priory of St. Andrew's*.*

EXCERPTA QUÆDAM DE MAGNO REGISTRO PRIORATUS S'TI ANDREÆ.

MS. Harl. 4628.

P A R S I.

CONTENTA REGISTRI.

In Registro Prioratus S'ti Andreæ sunt:

1. **I** NSTRUMENTUM electionis Johannis de Haddington in priorem S'ti Andreæ
2. Carta per Gilbertum priorem, facta Ricardo filio Rogeri de Fedmohe.
3. Alia Carta per Walterum priorem, dicto Rogero, quæ terræ fuerit in carta secunda limites designatæ. (*sic.*)
4. Relatio quid acciderit de contraversia post mortem Willielmi Phrafer Episcopi, et instrumentum de eo, 1209.
5. *Antiqua Allusio de numero Septenario, et Interpretatio loci Apocal. de 7 Sigillis.*
6. Decisio contraversiæ inter Keledeos et Episcopum de jurisdictione agri, per Thom. Ranulphum, Guardianum citra Mare Scoticum, A° 1309.
7. *Tractatus de Dictionibus Bibliæ; usque ad fol. 44.*

* This Register has been missing ever since 1660, when it was last seen in the hands of James Nairn, minister at the abbacy of Holyroodhouse. *Dalr. Coll. p. 106.*

These Contents and Extracts had however been taken, and passed into the library of Sir R. Sibbald, who communicated part to Innes. They are now published entire from a MS. in the Harleian Library, N° 4628; written after 1708, for it contains a piece of Lord Cromarty's, dated that year, and transcribed in the same hand-writing. There are several other MSS. on Scottish affairs in the same library, written by the same hand. (Query, If Anderson's, the publisher of the Diplomata?)

From Sir R. Sibbald's History of Fife, and from Innes's account, this copy is clearly taken from the one in Sir R. Sibbald's library.

8. Bulla

8. Bulla Innocentii 4. Papæ, confirmans terras et donationes et privilegia facta prioratui S'ti Andreæ, 1248. Anno 5to Innocentii 4ti.
9. *Nomina Regum Scotiæ et Piætorum*, a fol. 46 ad fol. 49.
10. Oblatio Alexandri Primi Regis et Sybillæ uxoris ejus, fol. 49.
11. Petitio Kelideorum, et subiectio eorum Episcopo S'ti Andreæ.
12. *Proverbia Catonis, Pamphyli, Maximiani, Annani, Quiaii*, ad fol. 55.
13. *Relatio quo David, filius Roberti Regis, factus fuit Miles, Anno 1331, per Thomam Ranulphum Comitem Moraviae, per licentiam Comitis de Fyfe; et postea coronatus fuit per Jacobum Ben, Episcopum S'ti Andreæ, apud Scone, Dominica proxima.*
14. *Consecratio magnæ Ecclesiæ per Episcopum Willielmum de Lamberton, in presentia Roberti Regis, et 6 Episcoporum, et multorum Comitum et Baronum, Anno 1328, 3 Nonas Julii; et Oblatio Regis, et Episcoporum, illo die.*
15. Cartæ Ricardi Regis Angliæ de Restitutione Berwici, et Roxburgh, Willielmo Regi Scotiæ, et omnium Cartarum quos pater Ricardi extorsit a dicto Willielmo, per ejus captionem, ita ut omnia sunt in posterum ut erant tempore Malcolmi Regis.
16. *Genealogia Regum Angliæ ab Henrico 2do ascendendo ad Noab per Matrem*, fol. 56.
17. *HISTORIA Originis Scotorum ex Egypto ad Hispaniam in Hiberniam, breviter inde in Britanniam*, fol. 57; et *Genealogia Stæ Margaretæ uxoris Malcolmi*, fol. 57.
18. *HISTORIA*. A fol. 58 ad fol. 99.
19. *Constitutiones Davidis Episcopi de Regendo Clero.*
20. Carta facta per Jacobum Priorem S'ti Andreæ de Lochleven, A^o 1396.
21. Confirmatio Ecclesiæ de Errol, monachis de Cupro.
22. — Ecclesiæ de Lauder, Abbati de Driburgh.
23. — Ecclesiæ de Hilleminefin, Hospitali de Lochleven, et aliorum privilegiorum concessorum Hospitali de Lochleven.
24. Concessio Arnot, eidem Hospitali.
25. Confirmatio Ecclesiæ de Bambeith, &c. facta Canonicis de Dunkeld, per Hugonem Episcopum Dunkeld.

26. Confirmatio Wilelmi Episcopi S'ti Andreæ, super ecclesiis in Coldingham, et reliquis spectantibus ad Episcopum Dunelmensem; cum concordia inter eos de piscaria in Berwick.

27. — Ecclesiæ de Kethems.

28. Confirmatio Rogeri Episcopi S'ti Andreæ Ecclesiarum de Durhame, de piscaria in Perth, et vicaria in Perth.

29. — de Fedinche.

30. — de Rosinclerach.

31. — de ecclesia de Kilcontach, concessa per Davidem Episcopum monialibus de North Berwick.

32. — de ecclesia de Kircaldy, concessa Abbati de Dumfermline per eundem Episcopum.

33. Confirmatio ecclesiarum datarum abbati S'tæ Crucis per episcopos S'ti Andreæ, Anno 1240. Ecclesiæ sunt de Castello, S'ti Curthberti, cum capellis ecclesiarum de Erth, de villa Levin, de Kumeil, de Kareden, de Gamer, de Hanel, de Bathket, de Boulton, de Eglishbrek quæ Varia Capella dicitur, de Monte Laodoniæ, Capella de Pentland, et medietatibus decimarum garbaliū ecclesiæ de Kingorn; quas ecclesias Robertus, Arnaldus, Ricardus, Hugo, Willielmus, et David, Episcopi dederunt.

34. Confirmatio terrarum de Hulotston condatarum in Carta.

35. Taxatio Vicariarum in ecclesiis S'tæ Crucis.

36. Carta capellæ de Wederly, facta per David episcopum S'ti Andreæ Abbati de Kelcho.

37. Carta duarum partiarum terræ, in villa de Dundee, facta Radulfo Corbrige.

38. Carta terræ in Clachmanan, facta Murivo filio Gilmumelmi, pro redditione unius carri, vel 2 solidorum, cum ædificatione hospitii.

39. Carta facta Abbati de Driburgh, de Vicariorum sustentatione.

40. Carta ecclesiæ de Restenet per David episcopum, Abbati de Jedword 1242, et confirmatio ejusdem.

41. Carta ecclesiæ de Aberlemni iisdem facta, per eundem Davidem.

42. Carta maritagii Thomæ de Lidel, cum terris de Incheraye Midmor.

43. Confirmatio ecclesiæ de Kuledon, facta Abbati de Kelso.

44. Carta

44. Carta terrarum de Cure in Forfar, facta Nicolao Burgenfi.
45. Compositio inter Abbatem de Culrofs, et Rectorem de Kylmany, super decimis de Zachtulit infra parochiam de Kilmarin, facta per Davidem Episcopum S'ti Andreæ.
46. Carta per Davidem Episcopum S'ti Andreæ, facta fratribus de * * * Scotiæ, terrarum in dicta carta diversarum et condatarum, viz. Kelgad, &c.
47. Carta terrarum de Pethmulin Ricardo Monepenny, cum libertate molend. grana apud molendinum de Puthekin sine multura.
48. Carta ecclesiæ de Dumanum, per eundem episcopum facta abbati de Jedworth.
49. Carta duarum perticarum terræ, in burgo de Linlichco.
50. Carta per Walterum priorem S'ti Andreæ, facta Willielmo Giffard, et heredibus suis, de capella de Aldcathyn. Reddendo ecclesiæ de Linlichco dimidium Marcæ, et xvi denarios, et etiam concessit capellam de Laneditum et capellam de Polganeltyn.
51. Carta Adæ filii Odonis de maritagio.
52. Carta ecclesiæ de Duminam facta abbati de Jedworth.
53. Carta terrarum de Knispinethyn, et Finegally, et Dundinauch, facta per Davidem episcopum Malcolmo de Knispineth, 1247.
54. Confirmatio ecclesiarum de Innerwych, et Ligardiswood, facta abbati de Paslay, per Willielmum et Davidem episcopos S'ti Andreæ.
55. Renunciatio actionis de terris de Pethpont.
56. Compositio inter monachos de Cupro, et ecclesiam de Errol.
57. Taxatio vicariarum de Aberbrothock.
58. Carta terræ de Adel, facta per Davidem episcopum Willielmo de Breichen, 1249.
59. Carta ecclesiæ S'ti Cuthberti, de ecclesiis et capella de Brighen, et de Merfington, et de Letham, facta monialibus de Eccles, 1250.
60. Carta ecclesiæ de Bucham, facta monialibus de Eccles per eundem Davidem episcopum.
61. Carta ecclesiæ de Smalam, facta per episcopum S'ti Andreæ decano et capitulo Glasguensi, 1265.
62. Carta vicariæ ecclesiæ de Eggles, quæ vocatur Kirktown, facta abbati de Cambusknel.

63. Compositio de annuo redditu, de fermis de Ardmoir, debitis priori S'ti Andreae.

64. Carta terrarum de Ardmoir, facta per priorem S'ti Andreae dominæ Margaretæ Lindsay, anno 1285.

65. Carta ecclesiæ et terræ de Logindunde, per Ricardum episcopum S'ti Andreae abbati de Scone.

66. Alia carta per Hugonem episcopum, confirmans donationes per predecessores suos factas, viz. Ecclesiarum de Skone, cum capella de Kinfans, de Cragy, et de Rate, de Liff, et de Innergowry, de Rankismuch, de Lachor, de Bermount, abbati de Skone.

67. Alia carta earundem per Willielmum episcopum.

68. Confirmatio ecclesiæ S'ti Servani, in insula de Lochlevin, per Gamelum episcopum S'ti Andreae, apud Inchmauhat, anno 1248.

69. Alia carta facta per Joh. priorem de insula in Lochlevin.

70. *SUCCESSIO in Prioratu*, fol. 118, 119.

71. Pars cartæ cujusdam de divisione de Seck, facienda per præpositum capellæ S'ti Andreae episcopo S'ti Andreae.

72. Carta de Rossiclerack, facta per priorem Jacobo de Perth.

Et sic finitur Registrum fol. 121.

P A R S II.

EXCERPTA QUÆDAM EX DICTO REGISTRO.

§ I.

Nomina Regum Scotorum et Piolorum, supra in Contentis, N° 9.

Hic articulus ab Innesio publici juris est factus in Appendice, p. 797. *seqq.* sed hoc MS. paululum discrepat in sequentibus.

P. 797. Innes Sluaghmuner, MS. Sluaghmaner.

Ordo regum variat: nam hic 5. Conal 14—8. Heoghdbud 16—7. Kineth Ker 3 menses—6. Edan fil. Garan. Ultimus poni debet ante Heoghdbud: *transferri debet*, annotat transcriptor.

798. 11. Dovenald Durn, MS. Dovenal Dunn.
 13. Heoghed Rinnavel fil. Dovenghart, filii
 Dovenald Brec. MS. Heoghed Monanel
 fil. Dondqhart, fil. Donavald Bick.
 17. Heoghan fil. M. 3 an. MS. Geoghan fil.
 M. 2 an.
 18. Hethfin fil. Heoghed Rinnevale, MS. Hef-
 chel Ramele.
 20. Selvhanc, MS. Icalulanc.
 799. 6. Deootheth, MS. Deokleth.
 10. Umpopneinet, MS. Wmpopniall.
 12. Canatulmel, MS. Canatulmet.
 13. Dinornacht, MS. Donarmocht.
 14. Feodat Finleg, MS. Feredak filius.
 17. D. f. Urb, MS. D. f. Irb.
 20. D. Gormot, MS. Gernot.
 21. Galam, 15 an. MS. Gulam 25 an.
 23. Hydroffig, MS. Hudressfeg.
 26. Mordeleg, MS. Madolei.
 800. 31. N. fil. Ub. MS. fil. Irb.
 32. Kinel, MS. Kinet.
 36. T. f. Amfrude, MS. T. f. Confrud.
 40. Amfredesch, MS. Amfedeth.
 42. Neetan frater ejus, MS. Ferthin frater ejus.
 801. 54. Duftalorg, MS. Drustelorg.
 55. Eoganan, MS. Coganan.
 59. Fotel, MS. Fetal.

Ibid. Reg. Scot.

25. Roith in Veramont, MS. Raith Inverameat.
 28. Girg Mac Dungal, MS. Carus Mac Dungal.
 802. 32. Inverculan, MS. Inertolen.
 34. Laudonia, MS. Laodana.
 35. Finellæ filia Cunechat, MS. Finele Cun-
 nuchar comitis de A. — Dunfinoen,
 MS. Dunismoen.
 36. Malcolm I. MS. Malcolmi.
 803. 37. Girgh, MS. Girus.
 39. Bothgouanan, MS. Bothganenan.
 44. Macloen, MS. Mackcolm.
 804. 46. Craffeti, MS. Cinfleth.
 Post 49. Willelmus, infere, "Summa a nno-
 rum a Kinat Mac Alpin ad regnum Alexandri
 501 annis:" error pro 371.
 51. Zabulo feminante, MS. diabolus feminatus.

§ 2.

Successio Priorum. (No. 70, supra?)

Anno 1140, *Robertus*, primus prior, per Robertum episcopum vocatus; hic obiit anno 1197. Cui successit *Walterus*, qui propter infirmitatem demisit prioratum. Et successit *Gilbertus*, qui post duos menses obiit apud Clackmahan, adhuc vivente *Waltero* qui resumpsit prioratum, et quantum poterit prestitit, sed obiit anno 1200. Ei successit *Thomas*, qui propter fratrum impietatem dimisso prioratu, factus est no'mtun Iraba (*sic*) de Cupro. Huic successit *Simon*; hic etiam reliquit prioratum et cepit prioratum insulæ de Lochlevin. Huic successit *Henricus de Norham*, anno 1226. Huic successit *Joannes Prior*; hic obiit anno 1258. Huic successit *Gilbertus*; hic obiit anno 1263. Huic successit *Joannes de Haddingtoun*; hic obiit anno 1304. Huic successit *Adam de Manchan*; hic obiit anno 1313. Huic successit *Joannes de Forfar*.

§ 3.

Historia beati Reguli, et foundationis ecclesiæ Sancti Andree: adjiciuntur quædam de Keledeis; et alia ad dictam ecclesiam pertinentia *. [scripta cir. A. 1140.]

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi 345, CONSTANTINUS, nepos Constantini filii Helenæ, congregavit exercitum magnum ad depopulandum Patras civitatem, in vindictam suspensionis beati ANDRÆ Apostoli Christi, et ut inde auferat Reliquias ipsius. Tertia autem nocte, antequam Imperator cum exercitu intraret civitatem, Angelus Dei descendens de cælo apparuit sanctis viris, qui custodiebant Reliquias Sancti Andree Apostoli, et præcepit sancto episcopo REGULO,

* This seems to be the HISTORIA, No. 18, of the contents. There is no room anywhere else in the contents for this piece; and no other title to which it can refer. The *Historia* of the contents has 41 folios; but how widely written? for nothing is so common in MSS. of this kind, written by various hands, as extreme variety in the size, and wideness, of the writing. Besides, this *Historia* seems to extend quite to the end of these excerpts: and the many charters after mentioned seem to have been given at full length in the original; for they belong to the history of the Priory, and are not found in the contents.

ut ipse cum clericis suis iret ad sarcophagum, in quo erant recondita ossa beati Andreae, et inde tolleret tres digitos manus dextræ, et brachium inter cubitum et humerum, et patellam genu illius, et unum ex dentibus suis. Ipsi vero has partes de reliquiis tollentes, sicut Angelus illos iusserat, in loco secretissimo reposuerunt. Die vero sequente post harum reliquiarum repositionem, sub ortu solis, venit Imperator CONSTANTIUS (*sic*) cum exercitu suo, et urbem depopulavit, et provinciam; et secum Romæ asportavit Scrinium, in quo cætera ossamenta Sancti Apostoli invenit reposita. Quo adveniens depredavit Insulam Tyberis, et Colossiam, et inde tulit secum ossa S'ti Lucæ Evangelistæ, et Timothei discipuli Beati Pauli Apostoli, usque ad Constantinopolim cum reliquiis Beati Andreae.

Tunc temporis HUNGUS, filius FERLON, magnus rex Pictorum, congregavit exercitum suum contra ADHELSTANUM regem Saxonum, et castrametatus est ad ostium fluminis Tyne *. Nocte vero ipsa, ante congressionem duorum exercituum, Beatus ANDREAS aperuit Regi Pictorum HUNGO in somniis, dicens ei quod ipse Apostolus, in die sequente, inimicum exercitum ita expugnaret, ut ipse HUNGUS plene de inimicis triumpharet. Cui rex ait, "Quis es tu? et unde venis?" Beatus Andreas respondens ait "Ego sum Andreas Apostolus Christi, et nunc de cælo veni a Deo
" missus revelare tibi, quod in die crastino expugnabo
" inimicos tuos, et tibi subjugabo; et læta victoria
" potitus ipse cum exercitu tuo incolumis reparabis.
" Et in regnum tuum Reliquiæ meæ afferentur; et locus ad quem deferentur cum omni honore et veneratione celebris erit, usque in ultimam^{mam} diem seculi." Rex autem, ex somno evigilans, enarravit omnibus suis ea quæ dormienti revelaverat Beatus Andreas. Quibus auditis Pictorum populus exhilaratus, jurejurando affirmavit, perpetuo cum omni diligentia se Beato Andreae venerationem exhibiturum, si ea quæ Regi suo monstraverat ad effectum ducerentur. Die autem postero Picti, ex sponcione Apostoli letificati, prælium pararunt; et, diviso exercitu, circa Regem suum septem agmina statuerunt. Saxones vero suum dividentes exercitum, Regem suum ADHELSTANUM bis septem constipati sunt agminibus. Facto autem congressu, Saxones omni virtute illico destituti, Deo

* Fabricatio lepida! Saxones in Britannia, A. D. 345!
volente,

volente, et Sancto Apostolo Andrea pro Pictis interveniente, in fugam detorsi sunt. Regis autem Saxonum ADHELSTANI capite amputato, innumera Saxonum facta est cædes. Rex vero HUNGUS victoria potitus, cum exercitu non modico in terram suam rediens, caput ADHELSTANI secum precepit adferri, et in loco qui dicitur *Archinnechun*, infra portum qui nunc dicitur *Portus Reginae*, ligno fecit affigi. Post istam ope coelesti adeptam victoriam, in Pictos postmodum non ausi sunt insurgere Saxones.

Post hujus belli felicem victoriam non multis evolutis diebus, Angelus Dei iterum, de coelo venit ad Beatum Episcopum REGULUM, quem ita alloquitur: “Ex Dei summi præcepto partes Aquilonares adire
“non differes, adversus solem orientem, cum Reliquiis discipuli Christi Andreae; quos ex monitu
“nostro jamdudum reservasti. Et quocunque loco navis illa, quæ te et tuum vehet per mare conventum,
“conquassata fuerit, te cum Sociis salvo et incolumi
“ibi in nomine Domini et Apostoli sui Andreae, jace
“fundamentum Ecclesiae. Locus enim ille vobis erit
“per seculum requies, et ibidem erit resurrectio in die
“extremi examinis.” REGULUS vero episcopus, juxta præceptum Angeli, Sanctis Viris comitatus, cum reliquis S’ti Apostoli, erga Aquilonem tendit navigio. Et, per unius anni spatium et dimidii, multis tempestatum jactus procellis, per Insulas Greci Maris quocunque appulsus fuit, oratorium in honorem S’ti Andreae constituit.

Innumeros itaque Sancti Viri labores perpeffi, per marina littora, Deo ducente, in Aquilonem vela direxerunt, et in terra Pictorum, ad locum qui *Muckros* fuerat nuncupatus, nunc autem *Kylrimont* dictus, nocte S’ti Michaelis, applicuerunt. *Muckros* vero *nemus porcorum* dicitur. Navi vero qua vehebantur ad scopulos conquassata, crucem quandam, quam secum de Patris portaverant, ibidem sibi erectis papilionibus in terra fixerunt, in signum quod portaverant sacrorum, et contra demonum insidias curamentum. Et ibidem per dies septem et totidem noctes manserunt. Ibidem dimissis senioribus S. DAMIANO, et fratre suo MERINACH, in ipsius loci custodiam, REGULUS, et cæteri viri, cum sanctis Reliquiis Sanctissimi Apostoli Andreae ad *Forteviet* perrexerunt. Et illic tres filios Regis HUNGUS reperierunt, sciz. HOWONAM, et NECHTAN,
et

et PHINGUINEGHERT. Et quia pater illorum in expeditione in partibus *Argathelicae* tunc temporis extitit, de cuius vita filii multum solliciti erant, Deo et S'to Andreae dederunt decimam partem de urbe *Forteviet*. Ibidem vero cruce quadam erecta, loco et loci habitatoribus Regis filiis, benedixerunt. Inde perrexerunt *Moneclatu* qui nunc dicitur *Monichi*, et ibi Regina FINCHEM Regi HUNGO filiam enixa est quae MOUREN vocata est. Corpus illius virginis MOUREN apud *Kylrimont* sepulta est, nullo ante hoc ibidem sepulto. FINCHEM vero Regina domum in qua filiam MOUREN pepererat dedit Deo, et Sancto Andreae, et totum atrium Regale perpetuo. Inde transierunt montana, seu *Moneth*, et venerunt ad locum qui vocabatur *Doldancha*, nunc autem dictus *Chondrochedalvan*. Ibi HUNGUS Rex sublimis de expeditione rediens, viris sanctis obvenit, et coram Reliquiis S'ti Andreae Apostoli sibi ostensis, cum omni humilitate et reverentia se prostravit; Pictis omnibus qui cum illo erant, similiter cum Rege humili, prostratis coram Reliquiis. Rex vero locum illum, seu *Doldancha*, dedit Deo et Sancto Andreae Apostolo, et ecclesiam ibi aedificavit ubi Reliquae sibi nudae ostensae erant. Inde Rex cum sanctis viris montana, seu *Moneth*, transiens venit usque ad *Monichi*. Ibidem et in honorem Dei et beati Apostoli ecclesiam aedificavit. Et ita venit Rex cum sanctis viris ad *Forteviet*; et ibi Deo et Apostolo basilicam aedificavit.

Postea vero Rex HUNGUS, cum sanctis viris, venit *Chylrimont* *, et magnam partem loci illius circumiens obtulit illam Deo et S'to Andreae Apostolo, ad aedificandum ibi basilicas et oratorias. Locum vero ipsum, nota evidente designatum, ex magna devotione septies circumierunt. Rex HUNGUS, et ipse Episcopus REGULUS, et viri caeteri, circuitione et perambulatione ita disposita septena praecessit Episcopus REGULUS, super caput suum cum omni veneratione Reliquias S'ti Apostoli deferens, suo sacro conventu Episcopum cum comitibus hymnidicis sequente. Illos vero devotus secutus Rex HUNGUS est pedentim, Deo intimas preces et gratias fundens devotas. Regem vero secuti sunt viri optimates, totius regni nobiliores. Ita locum ipsum Deo com-

* *Kylrimont* vere fundata est ecclesia ab Ungusto II. rege Pictorum circa Annum 825, ut ex Wintono et aliis patet. Forsan *Regulus* eidem contemporaneus fuit. Reliqua de locis ad ecclesiam S'ti Andreae pertinentibus, &c. videntur esse verissima.

mendarunt, et pace Regia munierunt. In signum vero Regiæ commendationis, per loci circuitum divisim 12 cruces lapideas viri sancti erexerunt; et Deo coeli humiliter supplicabant, ut omnes in illo loco mente devota, et intentione pura, orationis suæ petitionis efficaciam obtinerent.

Postea Rex HUNGUS Basilicæ S'ti Apostoli in parochiam dedit quicquid terræ est inter Mare quod *Ishundenema* dicebatur, usque ad Mare quod *Sletheuma* vocabatur; et in adjacienti provincia per circuitum de *Largaw*, usque ad *Siren* canum; et de *Sireis* usque ad *Hybatnoughten Mochehirb*, quæ tellus nunc dicitur *Hadnachten*. Rex vero dedit hunc locum sc. *Chilrymonth* Deo, et Sancto Andreæ ejus Apostolo, cum aquis, pratis, cum agris, cum pascuis, cum moris, cum nemoribus, in eleemosynam perpetuo; et tanta libertate locum illum donavit, ut illius inhabitatores liberi et quieti semper existerent de exercitu, et de operibus castellorum, et pontium, et de inquietatione omnium sæcularium exactionum. REGULUS vero Episcopus Deo cantavit orationem Allej, ut Deus locum istum in eleemosinam datum in sempiternam protegeret, et custodiret in honorem Apostoli. In memoriale datæ libertatis Rex HUNGUS cespitem arreptum, coram nobilibus Pictis, hominibus suis, usque ad altare S'ti Andreæ detulit; et super illud cespitem eundem obtulit. In præsentia Testium horum hoc factum est, Thalarg filii Ythernbuthib, Naetan filii Chelturan, Garnach filii Dosnach, Druisti filii Urthroft, Nachtalich filii Gighergh, Shinah filii Lutheren, Anegus filii Forchate, Sheradach filii Finleich, Phiachan sui filii, Bolge, Glunmerach filii Taran, Demene filii Aunganena, Duptalaich filii Bergib. Isti Testes ex Regali Prosapia geniti sunt.

Postea in *Chilrymont* sancti viri SEPTEM construxerunt ECCLESIAS. Unam in honorem *sancti Reguli*: Secundam in honorem *Sti Aneglas* Diaconi: Tertiam in honorem *S'ti Michaelis* Archangeli: Quartam in honorem *S'tæ Mariæ* Virginis: Quintam in honorem *S'ti Damiani*: Sextam in honorem *S'tæ Brigidæ* virginis: Septimam in honorem *Muren* cujusdam virginis; et in illa ecclesia fuerunt 50 virgines, de femine regio procreatæ, omnes Deo dicatæ, et velatæ undecim annis; et sepultæ sunt omnes in orientali parte ipsius ecclesiæ.

Hæc

Hæc sunt nomina illorum sanctorum virorum qui sacras reliquias S'ti Andreæ Apostoli attulerunt in Scotiam. *S'tus Regulus* ipse. *Glasius* Diaconus. *Mattheus* Heremita. *S. Damianus* Presbyter : et *Merinachus* frater ejus. *Nervius* et *Crisemus* de Nola Insula. *Mirenus* : et *Thuluculus* Diaconus. *Nathabeus*, et *Silvius* frater ejus. Septem Heremitæ de Insula Tiberis, *Felix*, *Juranus*, *Mauritius*, *Madianus*, *Philippus*, *Eugenius*, *Lunus*. Et tres virgines de Colossia, sciz. *Kiduana*, *Potentia*, *Cineria*. Hæ virgines sepultæ sunt ad ecclesiam S. *Anaglas*.

THANA FILIUS DUDABRACH HOC MONUMENTUM
SCRIPSIT REGI PHERATH FILIO BERGETH * IN
VILLA MIGDELE.

HÆC, ut præfati sumus, sicut in veteribus Pictorum libris scripta reperimus, transcripsimus. Affirmant plerique Scotorum Beatum Apostolum Andream viventem in corpore, ibidem fuisse, hoc argumentum assertionis suæ assumentes, quod terram Pictorum sc. Scythicam, in sortem prædicationis accepit; et ideo locum istum præ cunctis locis carum habebat; et quod non explevit vivus expleat carne solutus. Quod quia scriptum non reperimus, in neutram partem, negando, vel affirmando, nimium inclinamus: sed quoniam de virtutibus et miraculis, quæ per sanctum Apostolum suum Deus et fecit, et facit, facta est mentio, unde et quædam illorum scribendi obtulit se occasio, quæ vel scripta reperimus, vel a veridicis audivimus relatoribus, vel etiam ipsi perspeximus, scribere Deo donante disposuimus: et hoc non fratres postulaverunt. Interim autem distulimus donec inceptum compleamus.

* Vered filius Bargot fuit rex Pictorum ab A° 839 ad 842. Si per hoc monumentum intelligitur omnis fabula, putidum est mendacium monachorum Sti Andreæ, nam impossibile est talem fabulam venditari intra quindecim annos post veram foundationem ecclesiæ S'ti Andreæ ab Ungusto II. Sed per hoc monumentum forsan intelligere debemus verba Chartæ foundationis sciz. *Rex Hungus Basilicæ*, &c. Utcumque sit vestigia Geographiæ priscæ, et Morum antiquorum, hoc in fragmento facile apparent.

DELETO igitur funditus Pictorum regno, et a Scotis occupato, vicissim res et possessiones ecclesiæ crescebant, aut decrescebant, prout reges et principes devotionem ad sanctum apostolum habebant. De quibus non est dicendum modo per singula, sed quæ ad nos spectant compendiose tractanda. Erat autem regia urbs *Rymont Regius Mons* dicta, quam præfatus Rex HUNGUS Deo et Sancto Apostolo dedit. Sublatis vero a presenti vita Sanctis, quorum supra mentionem fecimus, qui cum Reliquiis beati Apostoli advenerant, et eorum Discipulis atque Imitatoribus, cultus ibi religiosus deperierat, sicut et gens barbara et inculta fuerat.

Habebantur tamen in ecclesia S'ti Andreæ, quota et quanta tunc erat, tredecim per successionem carnalem quos KELEDEOS appellant, qui secundum suam æstimationem, et hominum traditionem, magis quam secundum sanctorum statuta patrum, vivebant. Sed et adhuc similiter vivunt, et quædam habent communia pauciora sciz. et deteriora; quædam vero propria plura sciz. et potiora; prout quisque ab amicis suis aliqua necessitudine ad se pertinentibus, viz. consanguineis et affinibus, vel ab iis quorum animæ charæ sunt, quod est amiciarum amici, five aliis quibuscumque modis, poterit quis adipisci. Postquam KELEDEI effecti sunt, non licet eis habere uxores suas in domibus suis, sed nec alias; de quibus mala oriatur suspicio mulieris. Personæ nihilominus septem fuerunt, oblationes altaris inter se dividentes; quarum septem portionum unam tantum habebat episcopus; et hospitale unam: quinque vero reliquæ in quinque cæteros dividebantur, qui nullum omnino altari vel ecclesiæ impendebant servitium, præterquam peregrinos et hospites, cum plures quam sex adventarunt, more suo hospitio suscipiebant, sortem mittentes quis quos vel quot reciperet. Hospitale sane semper sex, et infra, suscipiebat. Sed quod nunc, donante Deo, postquam in manum Canonicoꝝ devenit, omnes suscepit eo advenientes. Statuerunt etiam Canonici ut si quis eo æger deveniat, vel infirmatus ibi fuerit, cura ipsius agatur in omnibus necessariis, juxta domus facultatem, usque dum convalescet, vel moriatur. Si quid autem habuerit, faciat inde quod voluerit; et disponit ad libitum suum, quoniam in domo illa nihil exigitur ab illo. Constitutus est etiam a Canonicis capellanus, qui et infirmorum et morientium curam agat. Et duo patres, qui custodiunt domum, et hospites suscipiunt,

cipiunt, atque infirmis ministrarent; qui tamen ibi neque comedunt, neque bibunt, neque induuntur. Ad hoc quoque concesserunt Canonici decimas priorum suorum laborum, et reliquias ciborum suorum. Si quid vero necessarium sive sanis sive infirmis in cellario eorum fuerit, quod de hospitali haberi non poterit, sine contradictione donetur.

Personæ autem supra memoratæ redditus et possessiones proprias habebant; quas, cum e vita decederent, uxores eorum, quas publice tenebant, filii quoque, vel filiæ, propinqui, vel generi, inter se dividebant. Nihilominus altaris oblationes, cui non deserviebant, quod puduisset dicere, si non libuisset eis facere. Nec potuit tantum auferri malum, usque ad tempus fœlicis memoriæ Regis ALEXANDRI*, sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ specialis amatoris: qui et ecclesiam beati Andreæ apostoli possessionibus et redditibus ampliavit; multisque et magnis muneribus, cumulavit; libertatibus et consuetudinibus, quæ sui regii muneris erant, cum regali possessione donavit. Terram etiam quæ *Cursus Apri* dicitur, quam cum allatæ fuissent reliquiæ beati Andreæ apostoli, rex HUNGUS, cujus supra mentionem fecimus, Deo et sancto apostolo Andreæ dederat, et postea oblata fuerat ex integro instituit; eo nimirum obtentu, et conditione, ut in ipsa ecclesia constitueretur religio ad Deo deserviendum. Non enim erat qui beati apostoli altari deserviret, nec ibi missa celebrabatur, nisi cum rex vel episcopus illo advenerat, quod raro contigebat. KELEDEI namque in angulo quodam ecclesiæ, quæ modica nimis erat, suum officium more suo celebrabant. Cujus donationis regiæ TESTES multi sunt SUPERSTITES. Quam donationem et comes David, frater ejus, concessit; quem rex heredem destinaverat, et in regno successorem†, SICUT EST HODIE. Ob cujus etiam donationis monumentum, regium equum Arabicum, cum proprio freno, et sella, et scuto, et lancea argentea, opertum pallio grandi, et pretioso, præcepit rex‡ usque ad altare adduci; et de prædictis donis, libertatibus, et consuetudinibus omnibus regalibus, ecclesiam investiri: arma quoque Turchensia diversi generis dedit, quæ cum ipsius scuto et sella in memoriam

* Nominis I. 1107—1124.

† A.D. 1124—1153.

‡ Alexander I. Ritus hîc descriptus est singularis, et cujus in historiis mediæ ævi difficiliter exemplum reperies.

regiæ munificentiae, usque hodie, in ecclesia S'ti Andreae conservantur. Quæ undecunque advenientibus populis ostenduntur, ne oblivione ullatenus delentur, quod tam crebro ad memoriam revocatur. Hujus nempe regis ALEXANDRI diebus, prope vitæ temporalis finem, dominus ROBERTUS primus Sconensis ecclesiæ prior, (quam et idem rex Canonicis dederat, et multis donis atque possessionibus ditaverat,) in Episcopum Scotorum electus fuit. Sic quippe, ab antiquo, episcopi S'ti Andreae dicti sunt. Et in scriptis tam antiquis, quam modernis, inveniuntur dicti Summi Archiepiscopi, five Summi Episcopi Scotorum. Unde et conscribi fecit in theca evangelii Fothet episcopus, maximæ vir auctoritatis, versus istos:

Hanc evangelii thecam construxit avari,
Fothet qui Scotis summus episcopus est.

Sic et nunc quoque in vulgari et communi locutione *Escop Alban*, i. e. Episcopi Albaniae, appellantur. Sic et dicti sunt, et dicuntur per excellentiam, ab universis Scotorum episcopis; qui a locis quibus præfunt appellantur.

Sed ante ipsius electi consecrationem memoratus rex ALEXANDER, ad extrema deductus, fratrem suum regem DAVID, qui solus ex fratribus supererat, et SUPEREST, non tam regni quam devotionis erga Dei ecclesiam, et pauperum tutelam, reliquit heredem. Sategit enim, et sataget, ut quod frater ejus rex, sæpe dictus, inceperat, ipse ad finem Deo juvante perduceret. Plures et ecclesias, et plura monasteria, tam monachorum, quam canonicorum, necnon et sanctimonialium constituit; quibus et multa beneficia contulit. Præterea in servos et ancillas Christi multa operatus est opera misericordiae; quæ non est nostræ facultatis evolvere. Impetravit autem consecrari antistitem ecclesiæ S'ti Andreae jam dictum D. ROBERTUM, a piæ memoriæ THURSTINO Eboracensi archiepiscopo, sine professione, vel qualibet exactione; salva duntaxat utriusque ecclesiæ dignitate, et sanctæ atque apostolicæ sedis auctoritate. Ordinatus igitur episcopus, atque ad sedem propriam reversus, quod anhelabat in pectore, exercere studebat in opere, ut ecclesia, viz. ampliaretur, et cultui divino dedicaretur. In multis tamen, et ante ordinationem, et post, adversatus est ei Satanas. Multas sustinuit injurias, et contumelias, juxta quod ait Apostolus *Omnes qui volunt pie vivere in Christo persecutionem patientur.*

tur. Portiunculam autem septimam altaris, quæ in eum contigebat, et quam de propriis usibus suis substrahebatur, in ecclesiæ opus expendebat. Sed quoniam impensa erant modica, modice erigebatur et fabrica: donec Domino cooperante, et proxime rege David annuente, oblationes in manibus laicorum, tam virorum quam mulierum, exceptæ, in usus ecclesiæ sunt receptæ. Dein ubi magis quod daret ad manum haberet, magis ac magis opus accelerabat.

Basilica igitur in fundamentis inchoata, et ex majori jam parte consummata, domibus quibusdam ita exactis, cum claustro ut jam possint habitationes introduci, qui non nimia quærerent, et interim per patientiam expectarent D. ADEBOLDUM episcopum Carleolensem expetiit, tam per literas, quam per missalios per vivam quoque vocem, regi DAVID sibi concedere ecclesiam S. *Oswaldi*, cui ipse episcopus jure prioris præerat, personam quam in partem sui laboris assumeret, et Canonicis, quos in ecclesia S'ti Andreæ statuere disponebat, Priorem constitueret. Familiarius siquidem sibi videbatur, et dulcius de ipsa ecclesia ubi se Deo devoverat, et habitum religionis susceperat, unde et Sconensi ecclesiæ primus Prior destinatus fuerat: de qua, ut prefati sumus, in Episcopum electus, et assumptus erat; quam aliunde personam accipere. Nec tamen quamlibet postulavit personam, sed fratrem ROBERTUM, non quidem fama notum, vel conversatione, sed tantum nomine, quem juxta quod ab amicis et familiaribus suis qui eum noverant ad hoc idoneum estimabant. Petiit ergo eum et accepit, nec enim ei de ipsa ecclesia negare poterat, vel debebat, quia quid rationabiliter postularet.

Memoratus autem frater ROBERTUS ex præcepto D. Episcopi aliquandiu apud S'tum Andream conversatus est, et sine Canonicis, non tamen sine Clericis, prebente Domino Episcopo necessaria sibi et suis. In ecclesiam vero nullam habebat, nec habere volebat, potestatem, donec ei Dominus procuraret quam optabat ad Dei servitium societatem. Nihil tamen de se presumere; sed totum se Deo deferens, et se ordinationi submittere, Deum sedulo depræcatur ut eum visitare et consolari dignaretur, aut tale donaret, se religionis fundamentum ponere, supra quod constructum edificium firmum esset, et stabile. Sicut enim in corde statuerat nequaquam in alienos labores intrare volebat, quod fortasse sibi facile foret de aliis et diversis ecclesiis, sibi

fratres sociare, ne forte diversi diversa sentientes, dum qui essent videri appeterent, in unitatem non convenirent; et sic antequam jaceretur fundamentum, pateretur fabrica detrimentum. Si quos tamen, modo quo ipse disponebat vivere paratis, ei Deus adduceret, eos benigne susciperet.

Interea fratre ROBERTO ex præcepto Episcopi ut dictum est ibidem commorante, D. Episcopo autem circa inceptum segnius agente, venit Rex*, una cum filio suo HENRICO Comite, et Rege Designato, ad Sanctum Andream, orationis gratia; multique cum iis Comitum et Potentium terræ. In crastino autem, audita missa, et horis ex more et oblatione factis, veniens Rex in claustrum, quale illud tunc erat, simul cum iis qui secum venerant; et residentibus cunctis, primum multa quæ nihil attinet, tandem causam pro qua precipue venerat apperuit Rex. Convenit igitur Episcopum cum sicut disposuisse dixerat, et Rex Alexander constituerat opus, et servitium Dei non acceleraret, ut in Ecclesia Beati Andreae religionem constitueret. Cumque post multas contraversias causareter D. Episcopus possessionem Episcopii non licere sibi minuere, vel dispergere, ne forte a successore suo, a servis Dei, auferret, in quod ipsis ab eo conferretur. Respondet Rex, et dixit, ut de terra illa quæ *Cursus Apri* dicitur, quæ de Episcopatu non erat, quam Rex ALEXANDER frater ejus, propter hoc Deo et S'ti Andreae devoverat, ut in ecclesia ejus religio constitueretur, sufficienter eis tribueret; et tam ipse quam filius ejus concederent, et ad instaurandam terram auxilium ferrent. Quod et fecerunt; et alios quosdam cum jurando juvare compulerunt. Tunc D. Episcopus, quasi sponte coactus, de terris personarum quæ abeuntibus eis in manum ejus obvenerant, quam libuit portionem, consilio et assensu Regis et filii ejus, et ceterorum Baronum qui aderunt, fratri ROBERTO in manum tradidit; unde fratres ut Dei servitium illo venientes interim sustentari debuissent. Nec tamen circa opus ecclesiæ segnius egit; sed quo citius consummaret omnibus modis satagit. Ipsa die piæ memoriæ ROBERTUS presbiter Domini, Episcopi frater uterinus, corde voce et opere seculum abrenuncians ad Deo deferendum, in ecclesia Beati Andreae sub canonica regula S'ti Patris nostri Augustini, in manum fratris ROBERTI Prioris se reddidit, cum ecclesia sua de Tinningham, annuente Domino Episcopo, ita sane ut vel ecclesiam illam haberent Canonici, vel L solidos per annum.

* David I.

SEQUUNTUR Cartæ Donationis Roberti Episcopi,
Regis David, et Henrici Comitis filii Regis David,
anno 1144.

Robertus Episcopus sæpe dictus mortuus est 1159;
Arnoldus Abbas Calchrensis eligitur 1160; et confirma-
tus a Willielmo Episcopo Moraviæ, ut a Legato Pon-
tificis, et consecratus.

Anno 1162 fundata est nova ecclesia S'ti Andreæ a
Rege Willielmo, et Arnolodo Episcopo.

Arnoldus Episcopus mortuus, et *Ricardus* Canonicus
Regis Malcolmi, electus 1163; hic obiit 1178.

Inde secuta contentio Canonicis eligentibus Joannem
Scotum, et Rege pro Hugone Capellano suo intento.
Tandem *Hugo* factus Episcopus S'ti Andreæ: et Joan-
nes Episcopus Dunkeldensis.

Hugone mortuo, *Rogerus* filius nobilis viri Comitis
Leiceistriæ, electus 1189, et consecratus a Ricardo
Episcopo Moraviensi, astante Rege Willielmo: hic
quarto post anno moritur.

Post hunc *Willielmus* Episcopus Glasguensis translatus
ad St. Andream. Hic vixit et rexit ecclesiam 36 annis.

Longa altercatio subsecuta; tandem *David de Benham*
Regis Camerarius, electus est; et consecratus 1239;
et mortuus 1252.

Willielmus Frazer Cancellarius electus in episcopatum
S'ti Andreæ, et consecratus tempore Alexandri Regis
1270.

FUNDATIO ecclesia de LOCHLEVIN, quæ postea
data Priori S'ti Andreæ.

BRUDE filius Pictorum, qui secundum antiquas
traditiones dicitur ultimus Regum Pictorum, dedit in-
fulam S. Servano et Keledeis.

MACBET filius Finlach dedit eis Kirkness, et alias
terras ibi bondatas, ad Saxum Hiberniensium. Cujus

nominis ratio hæc est. MALCOLMUS Rex filius DUNCANI concessit eis Salinagium, quod Scotice dicitur Thonan: et venerunt Hibernienses ad Kirkness, ad domum cujusdam viri, nomine *Mochan*, qui tunc fuit absens; et solum mulieres domi erant, quas Hibernienses violenter oppresserunt, non tamen sine rubore et verecundia. Rei autem eventu ad aures prefati *Mochan* perveniente, sciens domum festinavit et invenit ibi Hibernienses in domo sua cum matre sua. Exhortatione autem sæpe matri suæ facta, ut extra domum veniret; quæ nullatenus voluit exire, sed Hibernienses protegere, et eis pacem dare, in ultionem tanti facinoris oppressores mulierum, et barbaros, et sacrilegos, in medio flammæ ignis una cum matre civiliter combussit. Et ex hac causa locus ille *Saxum Hiberniensium* dictus.

Idem Rex MACBETH dedit dictis Keledeis villam de Bolgyn.

EDGARUS filius Malcolm dedit eis Petnemokin.

MALCOMUS Rex, et MARGARETA Regina, dedit eis villam de Balchristin.

EDELREUDUS, vir venerandæ memoriæ, filius MALCOLMI Regis Scotiæ, Abbas de Dunkelden, et insuper Comes de Fyffe, dedit terras de Admoire. Et quia dictus Edelredus erat infra ætatem, donationem hanc confirmarunt duo fratres ejus ALEXANDER et DAVID, in presentia Constantini Comitis de Fife; et Nessa; et Carmac filii Macbeath; et Matneæther filii Beellan, sacerdotum de Abernethy: et Mallebride alterius sacerdotis; et Chuadet; et Angustin Sacerdotis Keledeorum; et Berbeadh RECTORIS SCHOLARUM DE ABERNETHY; et coram cæteris totius UNIVERSITATIS tunc de Abernethy, ibidem degentibus; et coram Deo Omnipotente, et Omnibus Sanctis. Et ibi data est plenarie et universaliter ab omnibus sacerdotibus, et laicis, maledictio Dei Omnipotentis et Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, et Omnium Sanctorum, ut Dominus Deus daret eum in exterminium et perditionem, et omnes illos quicumque irritarent et revocarent, et diminuerent elemosinam de Admore; omni populo respondente, Amen.

MALDINUS Episcopus S'ti Andree, dedit ecclesiam de Sconan pro suffragiis orationum.

MODUCH filius Malmikel, vir piissimæ recordationis, Episcopus S'ti Andree, cujus vita et doctrina tota regio Scotorum est lustrata, contulit eis ecclesiam de Harkindocach.

Istæ sunt antiquæ Constitutiones quas præfatæ ecclesiæ solvebant antiquitus ; 30 panes decoctos cum antiqua mensura farinæ ibi depositæ ; et 30 caseos quorum quilibet facit *chudrem* ; et octo mala de Brasco, et Derchede male, et Chadre male.

Adjudicatio quartæ partis terrarum de Kirkness, per nobiles et prudentes viros, a Rege DAVID constitutos, quam Robertus Burgonensis Miles a Keledeis per vim rapuit : quam cum Keledeis restituerent victo Roberto Burgonensi.

Tandem DAVID Rex hanc Insulam, et omnia prius donata Keledeis in illa morantibus, concessit Prioratui S'ti Andreæ.

Terræ concessæ Priori et Canonicis S'ti Andreæ per ROBERTUM Episcopum, 1144.

Balrimund. Strunuthum. Kinmunnins. Cast Dovenald. Drukarachin. Leodechin. Strathkimen. Belluca. Rothmanan. Pettulum. Kinnaftarsi. Balgfa. Kinnamore. Drumsec. Balemacedunethin. Egglisnamen. Ballochin. Sconin. Hæ omnes sunt in una carta.

Item Kinninmund in alia Carta ejusdem Roberti Episcopi.

Ex concessione RICARDI Episcopi.

Terræ utriusque Struithin. In alia Carta terram de Sludhachhelm in escambum de Portmoch et de Arnoch. In alia Carta Dunnoir vel Ferdis, Gartech Menethin, Endorech. Item per aliam Cartam dicti Ricardi, Lethin, Pulhun, Pethnacrem, Douredin, Resthoch, Pethmulin, Balentagardh, Pethiwenoch, Cremacherrin, Classanagasch.

Et per commutationem ab Archidiacono pro Trathyrin habent terras de Crague, Pethtendreoch. *Christin Mackgrig* tenet de eis Dunoot aniel, Ballebecklin, carrucataæ terræ infra Cursum Apri pro quibus respondetur Regi * * * de exercitu et auxilio ; et has terras habet in manu sua :

Radmuneth, Kyndargog, Pentalcin, Ballegone, Kineflair, Kinnemone, Strath Kynnes Martin, Strathkinnes Melferog, Ballehucke, Drunfel, Ballemoe, Drendguid, Eggles Nammin, Rescog, Donachre din, Pethunleg, Ballefagard, Crefinakarri, Petengared, Heteindorech, Elin, Sconin, Cast Dovenald, Drucker-

rach, Leddouchon, Struhythin, Lethim, Cragen, Dunortferdu, Garried, Pelhendrech.

Terræ quas *Adam filius Odonis* tenet de eis.

Kinninmuneth ubi aula est. Ballemocdunegin, Pel-tindreich, Malgast, Mædech, Malgastamerien, Leodhetthin, Ballemohob quod ascondit Ballerimuned.

Terræ quas *Crestin Magnus* tenet de eis.

Balleboethin, Dunort aniel.

Archidiaconus tenet Thruthtyrin.

Terræ quas tenent KELEDEI.

Kinkel, Kynnadanfihis, Kynnadin Equ, Lethin, Kerin, Kerneis, Kynninis, Rathmergullum, Syreii, Bale-tath, Kaleturse, Baleocherthyn, Pethkenyn, Kingerg.

Istas terras tenent EPISCOPUS, et Homines sui.

Nidin Ardulf, Nidin Rusticorum, Nidin Ecclesiæ, Clawhan et Burkelin, Kincapel Balesten, Kynapull Macfindul, Kincapel Bochalin, Balewarryn, Kyncapel Ballonfunnyne, Hynedthyn Infirmorum, Inchmorthal, Baledufgal, Kindaras, Ballewyne, Kyngleffyn, Puthetkyn, Indunnenochen, Balecatelyn, Bale eccles, Balealin, Petendruch, Strathfatha, Balebolin, Dunorge, Macorgetfin, Odofterche, Dufnipre, Bladbolg, Balepsin, Keenebaefenim, Kinehard, Cragginferdis, Barrimont et Galgille, Ballemmigi, Kenebeck Rusticorum, Gille Michel, Malewan in qua erat Kathimel, et Locolosag, Item Imbladobus Balareth,

NUMBER VIII. *Contents of the French King's Manuscript.*

Cat. Bibl. Cod. MS. Regis Galliæ, vol. III. p. 549.

IV MCXXVI.

CODEX Membranaceus olim Colbertinus. Ibi continentur:

1. Innocentii VI. Decretalis contra Fratres Mendicantes, procurata per Magistrum Richardum Fitz Rauf, Archiepiscopum Armachanum.

2. Benedicti XI. Decretalis super privilegiis Fratrum Mendicantium.

3. Bonifacii VIII. Decretalis de eodem argumento.

4. Versus de præstantia regni Scotorum.

5. Joannis XXII. Decretalis contra Joannem de Poliaco.

6. Magistri Stephani, Medici Hugonis Episcopi Dunelmi, tractatus de quodam prodigio.

7. Versus de diversis signis et prodigiis mundi, quæ fecit Deus ut terreret homines: quæ descripsit sanctus Patricius Hiberniæ Episcopus.

8. Ejusdem descriptio de rebus Hiberniæ admirandis.

9. Cosmographia Prisciani.

10. Itinerarium maritimum Antonini Augusti*.

11. Versus de tribus mundi partibus, et de distributione totius orbis montium, et fluminum.

12. Mensura totius terræ, secundum Romanos doctissimos, gnomonica ratione certissime comprobata.

13. Descriptio trium mundi partium, excerpta ex Orosio.

14. Chronica de origine antiquorum Pictorum.

15. Chronica regum Scotorum, annos trecentos et quatuordecim complectentia.

* Hoc est Itinerarium vulgare quod sub Antonini nomine circumfertur, sicuti per specialem inquisitionem edocui sum. J. P.

16. Narratio qualiter acciderit, quod memoria sancti Andreæ Apostoli amplius in regione Pictorum, quæ nunc Scotia dicitur, quam in ceteris regionibus sit; et quomodo contigerit quod tantæ Abbatia ibi factæ antiquitus fuerint, quas multi adhuc sæculares viri jure hæreditario possident.

17. Petri Amfulfi doctrina clericalis.

18. Methodii Patarenfis episcopi liber de initio et fine sæculi.

19. Giraldi Cambrensis topographia Hiberniæ, five de avibus, et aliis mirabilibus, et de habitatoribus Hiberniæ, libri tres, ad Henricum II. Angliæ Regem.

20. Alexandri Magni epistola ad Aristotelem.

21. Ejusdem Alexandri mors.

22. Metrum in destructionem Trojanorum.

23. Daretis Phrygii Historia Trojana.

24. Aliud carmen de excidio Trojæ.

25. Excerpta e Polychronico Radulphi Cestrensis monachi, ad historiam Britonum pertinentia.

26. Aliud carmen de excidio Trojano.

27. Galfridi Monemutensis historia Britonum, cum præfatione Alfridi Beverlacensis.

28. Alfridi Beverlacensis liber de gestis regum Britannia, a Bruto ad Henricum IV.

29. Continuatio ejusdem historiæ ad Edwardum III. secundum polychronicon Ranulphi Cestrensis monachi.

30. Prophetia Cyrilli, Eremitæ de monte Carmelo, interprete fratre Gilberto Anglico.

31. Sanctæ Hildegardis epistola ad Colonienfes, de futura tribulatione clericorum.

Is codex decimo quarto sæculo exaratus videtur.

*Contents of the same, more fully detailed by M. VAN
PRAET*.*

Etat des pieces contenues dans le MS. de la bibliotheque
du Roi de France, No. 4126.

Fol. 1 recto.

1. Decretalis contra fratres, procurata per magistrum Richardum Fitzrauf, Archiepiscopum de Armagh.

* Here begin the communications of this respectable correspondent, and they extend to N^o X. inclusive.

Fol.

Fol. 4 verso,

2. *Sans titre*: Benedicti XI. decretalis super privilegiis fratrum mendicantium.

Fol. 7 recto,

3. *Sans titre*: Bonifacii VIII. decretalis de eodem argumento.

Fol. 9 verso,

4. *Piece de 56 vers, sans titre, commençant par ces deux vers*:

Regnum Scotorum fuit, inter cetera regna
Terrarum, quondam nobile, forte, potens, &c.

Fol. 10 recto,

5. *Sans titre*: Joannis XXII. decretalis contra Joannem de Poliaco.

Fol. 11 recto,

6. Incipit tractatus magistri Stephani, medici Hugonis Episcopi Dunelmi, de quodam prodigio.

Fol. 12 recto,

7. Incipit de diversis signis, et prodigiis mundi, quæ fecit Deus ut terreret homines; quæ descripsit Sanctus Patricius presbyter, Ybarniæ episcopus.

Fol. 12 verso,

8. De rebus Hiberniæ admirandis.

Fol. 14 recto,

9. Incipit Cosmigrasia Prisciani.

Fol. 19 recto,

10. Incipit Itinerarium mar.

Fol. 20 recto,

11. De tribus mundi partibus; et de distributione totius orbis montium et fluminum. (*en vers*).

Fol. 21 recto,

12. Mensura totius terre, secundum Romanos doctissimos, gnomonica ratione certissime comprobata.

Fol. 22 verso,

13. Incipit descriptio Orosii de tribus partibus mundi, &c.

Fol. 26 verso,

14. De situ Albanæ, quæ in se figuram hominis habet; quomodo fuit primitus in septem regionibus divisa; quibusque nominibus antiquitus sit vocata; et a quibus inhabitata.

Fol. 27 recto,

15. Cronica de origine antiquorum Pictorum.

Fol. 29 verso,

16. Cronica regum Scottorum ccc. et iiij. annorum.

Fol.

- Fol. 31 recto,*
 17. Qualiter acciderit quod memoria S'ti Andreae
 (&c. *see former contents.*)
- Fol. 33 recto,*
 18. *Sans titre:* Petri Amfulfi doctrina clericalis.
- Fol. 45,*
 19. Hic incipit prologus in libro Methodii martyris.
- Fol. 49 recto,*
 20. Giraldus Cambrensis de mirabilibus Hiberniae.
- Fol. 97 recto,*
 21. *Sans titre:* Alexandri Magni ad Aristotelem de
 mirabilibus Indiae.
- Fol. 106 verso,*
 22. Incipit metrum in destructione Trojanorum.
- Fol. 108 recto,*
 23. Historia Daretis Trojanorum Frigii, de Græco
 translata in Latinum a Cornelio nepote Salustii.
- Fol. 119 verso,*
 24. Vastacio Troie. (*en vers*).
- Fol. 120 verso,*
 25. Incipit præfatio in historia Britannorum, ex-
 tracta a libro qui dicitur Policronicon.
- Fol. 133 recto,*
 26. Versus de excidio Trojano.
- Fol. 133 verso,*
 27. De primis autoribus, sive scriptoribus historia-
 rum. (*Id est prologus Alfridi.*)
- Fol. 134 verso,*
 28. Cronica Galfridi Monumetensis. Incipit Ystoria
 Britonum.
- Fol. 211 verso,*
 29. Explicit Cronica Galfridi Monumetensis in
 Historiam Britonum. Sequitur Continuacio regum
 Saxonum secundum Cronicas Alfridi Beverlacensis, et
 Henrici Huntingdon. ORA PRO POPILTON, QUI ME
 COMPILAVIT EBORACI.
- Fol. 230 recto,*
 Explicit præfatio. Incipiunt excerptiones de Histo-
 riis Anglorum: et unde Angli venerunt, et originem
 duxerunt. ORA PRO FRATRE ROBERTO DE POPUL-
 TON.
30. Explicit Hyistoria magistri Alfridi thesaurarii Be-
 verlacensis, incipiens ad Brutum, et finiens in Henricum
 4tum, annorum duorum milium ducentorum. Sequi-
 tur Continuacio Hystorie, vel Cronica Ranulphi mona-
 chi

chi Cestrensis, in suo Policronicon, usque ad Edwardi Tercii regis tempora. ORA PRO FRATRE ROBERTO DE POPULTON.

Fol. 299 recto,

31. *Sans titre*: Prophetia Cyrilli eremitæ de monte Carmelo, interprete fratre Gilberto Anglico.

A la fin de cette piece, qui finit au recto du 312e feuillet, on lit ce qui suit.

Qⁱ tñscⁱpta compilavit.
ego frā Pet^us Ma^ymeti ordⁱs
bē marie de Carmelo exⁿs scola
ris Pary^z illū libellū manu p
pia scⁱpⁱ et abstraxi a q^dā exempla
ri valde antiq^o et cū dyptongis
scⁱpto ī q^o Cirillus cū facⁱs et sac
dotalib^z uestib^z et fr^r Eusebi^o cū
mantello barrato. et ang^{'s} ves^{te}
ī pⁱncipio. erāt curiose et mirabil^r
depicti. R. Populton.*

Fol. 299 verso,

32. *D'une autre ecriture*: Epistola Sancte Hildegardis ad Colonienfes, de futura tribulacione clericorum, et de novis religiosis.

* *Id est*: Qui transcripta compilavit. Ego frater Petrus Maymeti, ordinis beatæ Mariæ de Carmelo, existens Scholaris Parisiis, illum libellum manu propria scripsi, et abstraxi a quodam exemplari valde antiquo, et cum dyptongis scripto, in quo Cirillus cum sacris et sacerdotalibus vestibus, et frater Eusebius cum mantello barrato, et Angelus veste, in principio erant curiose et mirabiliter depicti. R. POPULTON.

This certainly refers only to the prophecy of Cyril. And the signature of Populton, here and before, fully marks that he was the real writer, and collector of this MS. from various ancient pieces, which he had found; perhaps chiefly in the great library founded at York in early times: the title of No. 29, bearing 'Pray for Populton who compiled me at York:' and the close of that No. and No. 30, express that Robert de Populton was a monk. M. Van Praet thinks the writing French; but some fac-simila in my hands testify it the common writing used in England, in the fourteenth century. Yet that Populton may have been educated, and taught to write, at Paris, is not improbable, supposing M. Van Praet's idea to be well-founded.

Ce Manuscrit est in folio, sur velin, du 14^{me} siècle, à deux colonnes, avec les titres en rouge. Il contient 313 feuillets, noncompris deux feuillets qui sont au commencement; et dont l'un renferme une mappemonde, ou sont principalement marquées les provinces maritimes de France, et des Pays-Bays. Le second contient la table des traités écrite en rouge. Le corps du volume commence au troisieme feuillet, au bas duquel on lit Guilielmus Cecilius Mil' d' burghley. Les abbreviations y sont fréquentes, et quelque fois difficiles: mais l'écriture, qui paroît être d'une main Françoisise, se lit avec assez de facilité. On peut aisément en confondre l'u avec l'n: le t avec le c; ni avec m: un avec nn, &c.

NUMBER IX. *Collation of that MS. with the Pieces published from it by Innes, in his Appendix.*

Collation du No. I. de l'Appendix d' Innes.

- P. 768, l. 3. primitus—fuit primitus.
 l. 9. Albanacto—Albanecto.
 769, l. 1. Scotti vero—Scotti autem.
 l. 3. Malcolmi—Malcolini.
 7. Arregathel—Arregarthel.
 8. vero—autem.
 9. Arregaithel—Arregarthel.
 15. et Mar et Buchan—et Mari et Buchen.
 27. etiam—enim.
 Stradeern—Sradeern.
 770, l. 1. Fife—Fif.
 16. Dunfermalis—Dunfermelis.
 22. Tac, *vel* Tae.
 771, l. 3. Athrin—Athran.
 10. Muref—Muref.
 11. fuit—erat.
 14. Gaitheli—Gattheli.
 15. Gaithelglas—Gatthelglas.
 16. applicare—applicari.
 772, l. 1. Fergus—Fergius.
 4. Inchegall—Inchegal.

No. II. is given next in this Appendix, complete, in the spelling of the MS.

Collation du No. III. de l'Appendix d' Innes.

- P. 782, l. 4. Kinadius—Cinadius.
 783, l. 8. Duanan—Cluanan.
 10. Forthuir-tabaicht—
 Fothuir-tabaicht.
 12. tempora—tempore.
 l. 14. Fothur-thabaicht—
 Fothiur-thabaicht.
 784, l. 1. Kinadi—Cinadi.
 10. Coachcochlum—Coachcochlam.
 14. nrurin—uturim.

P. 784, l. 15. Ku—Kū, *i. e.* Kun.

16. Kinadi ac fil.—Cinadei ex filia.

785, l. 1. Giriciū—Ciriciū.

1. 3. Niel—Neil.

7. Donevaldus—Donivaldus.

8. vastaverun—vastaverunt.

9. bellum fuit—bellum autem factum.

16. utique anno, *adde*, occisi sunt in Fraith
h'emi Normanni: ac in vi. an. Con-
stantinus rex, et Cellachus.

786, l. 3. (nomen) meruit—meruit nomen.

1. 5. Lagnechois i. Cormac—

Laignechos. i. Cormace.

1. 8. Flanni—Flanu (*seu* Flami.)

9. Nail—Niall.

Flann—Flanu (*seu* Flami.)

14. Dubican—Dubucan.

16. Eochod—Eochaid.

17. decrepita—decrepitus.

20. Malcolm—Maelcolaim.

Domnail—Domnaill.

787, l. 2. albudorum—albidoforum.

1. 4. Maelcolam—Maelcolaim.

7. cum—eum.

8. mortuus autem Constantinus in x anno
ejus—mortuus est autem Constanti-
nus in x ejus anno.

12. Indulfus—Idulfus.

15. Sumerlidiorum—Somarlidiorum.

Buchan—Bucham.

16. Maelcolam—Maelcolaim.

19. Dulcalden—Duncalden.

788, l. 1. Culen-rig—Culen-rīg, *id est* ring.

1. 4. Maelbrigd—Maelbrigd'.

Ferdulaig—Ferdalaig.

5. Maelbridge—Maelbrigde.

10. uacornax—uacornar, *adde*, Scotti præ-
daverunt Saxoniam ad Stammoir, et
ad Cluiam, et ad Stang na Derām.

Collation du No. IV.

P. 789, l. 1. Eric—Eric ipse.

1. 4. Inchegall—Inchegal.

6. Domangart—Domangrat.

7. xxxii—xxxiii.

- P. 789, l. 11. Eeohod—Eochid.
 13. Fercar fil. Eu.—Fercar fil. eū.
 14. Ecohid—Eochid.
 790, l. 2. Eochol—Eochal.
 l. 10. Selvac—Selvach.
 11. Eochal—Fochal.
 17. Het—Hed.
 18. Dungal—Dunegal.
 19. Doneval—Duneval.
 21. Malcolin fil. Doneval—Malcolin fil. Dunevald.
 791, l. 1. Malcolm—Malcolin.
 l. 3. Malcolm—Malcolin.
 11. Macbeth—Macheth.
 13. Malcolm fil. Duncan—Malcolin fil. Duncē.
 16. Maria—Mariæ.
 18. in pauperes, *adde*, et in ecclesias.
 792, l. 1. filia M.—filia N.
 l. 7. sponsum—sponsam.
 8. progenitam—progenitum.
 11. cuiusque—cujuscumque.
 22. incarnatione—incarnatione Domini.
 793, l. 13. acuti—acutum.
 l. 14. cella, *adde*, Cluni accensi, quæ ibi sita est, &c.
 17. Dunchad fil. Malcolmi—Dunchahd fil. Malcolin.
 18. Edgarus—Eadgarus fil. Malcolin.
 23. vigil—vigilus.
 794, l. 5. conferat—conferat.
 l. 9. funditus—funditur.
 11. puellare—puellarum, *adde*, sancte Marie et m. puellarum,
 14. lychnis—lichinis.
 decoratur—decorantur.
 15. omnia, *adde*, ipse.
 magnis—magnus.
 16. pretiosarum, *adde*, exornavit.
 795, l. 3. Malcolm—Malcolin.
 l. 8. filii, *adde*, David fili Maelcolain.
 10. Maelcolai—Maelcolain.
 Domnail—Domnaill.
 13. Domnail-bric—Domnail-brie.
 14. Domangrat—Dommungrat.
 Eirc—Eire,

- P. 795, l. 15. Oengus-faphir—Oengu-faphir.
 16. Fedelinthe-ramnaich—
 Fedilinthernamnaich.
 17. Seanchormaic—Senchormaic.
 Cruith-linde—Cruitlinde.
 18. Fiachrachcathmail—Fiaerachcathmail.
 19. Ecdach-riade—Echdachriada.
 Conare—Conore.
 Mogalande—Mogalanda.
 20. Corpre-cruphini—Corprecrunpchimi.
 21. Corbre fadmoir—Corbre fil. Admoir.
- 796, l. 1. Eterfceil—Eterfceil.
 Eogam—Eogami.
 l. 4. Aramni—Arami.
 6. Firatbrig—Firaibrig.
 7. Elela-cassiacleg—Elelacassiacleg.
 Conliach—Conlaich.
 8. Coabtaig-coelbreg—Cobthaigcoelbreg.
 Ugane-more—Iugamemoir.
 9. Eedaigluadaig—Eedaigbuadaig.
 11. Brigt, *adde*, fil. Emidib, f. Edom, f.
 Glais, f. Miadat, f. Ail, f. Elchadaol-
 chaim, f. Sirna, f. Dem, f. Demail,
 f. Rodchada, f. Ogmaich, f. Oen-
 gussa, f. Olmochada, f. Fiachrach-
 laibrinne, f. Sinergnaid, f. Sinereta,
 f. Enmocha, f. Tigernaig, f. Fallaig,
 f. Etheoir, f. Jair, f. Dermeom, f.
 Meledespain, f. Bili, f. Nema, f.
 Brige, f. Brigomd, f. Bracha, f. The-
 acha, f. Ercchada, f. Aldoit, f. Noda,
 f. Nonailthemir, f. Goildilglais, f.
 Nenil, f. Fenius farfaid, f. Eogani,
 f. Glumid, f. Janind, f. Etheoir, f.
 Jair, f. Agmemnom, f. Thri, f. Boi,
 f. Sem, f. Mair, f. Esro, f. Aduir, f.
 Hieridach, f. Aoth, f. Sran, f. Esro,
 f. Boid, f. Riafich, f. Gomur, f. Ja-
 feth, f. Noe, f. Lameth, f. Matufaa-
 lem, f. Enoc, f. Jarech, f. Malalec-
 hel, f. Caman, f. Enos, f. Sed, f.
 Adam, f. Dei vivi.

NUMBER X. *The First Part of the Chronicon
Pictorum, with the Contractions, &c. of the ori-
ginal MS.*

MS. du Roi de France, No. 4126.

(*Folio recto 27 : 2 de colonne.*)

Cronica

de origine antiquoz pictoz
picti ppa ling nomen
ht a picto corpe eo q.
aqileis ferreis cū atramēto
uariaz figuraz stiugmate
ānotantur. Scotti q̄ nūc cor
rupte uocantur hib'nienses
q̄i sciti q̄ a scithia regione ue
nunt 7 inde originē duxerūt
siue a scotta filia pharaoīs

(*au verso iere colonne*)

regis egypti que fuit ut fert-
regina scocie. Sciend' ū est q̄
btonesī ī t̄cia mūdi etati ab
tāniam uenūt scite a'. i. scotti
ī quarta etate scociā siue hi
bniam obtinuerūt gētes
scitie alio c̄ne nascūt ab assī

duis niuibz 7 ipi⁹ capilli co
 lor gēti nom dedit 7 ide di
 cūtur albani de quibz origi
 nem duxerūt scoti 7 picti
 hoz glauca ocl^{is}. i. picta i ē
 pupilla adeo ut nocte p^l⁹ q.
 die cernāt albani vicini
 amazonibz fūnt gothi a
 magog filio iapheth noīati
 putāt de similitudinē ultime
 filabe q. uet^{is} gci magis
 gethas q. gotos uocaūūt
 gēs fortis 7 potētissima corp
 ū mole ardua armoz gēne
 tribil^{is}. de qbz lucan⁹ hinc da
 cus pmat ide gethi icurra
 hib^{is}. daci ā gottoz soboles
 fuerūt 7 dictos putāt dacos
 qī dagos qz de gottoz stirpe ce
 ati sūt. de quibz ille ibis arcos
 pcul usqz dacos. Scithe 7 go
 thi a magog originē traxe
 rūt scithia qz 7 gothia ab eod⁹
 magog filio japhet fertur
 ognominata: cuius tra olī
 igēs fuit. nā aboriēte i die
 a septētōine: p paludes meoti
 das it⁹ danubiū 7 oceanū usqz
 ad gmanie fines porigebar⁹

(2de colonne)

postea minor effecta ē ad ext' ori
 entis pte q̄ oceanus firic' gditur
 usq̄ ad mare caspiū q̄. ē ad occasū
 dehinc a meridie usq̄ ad caucasi
 iugū deducta est cui subiacet
 hircania ab occasu. hñs piter
 gētes ml'tas p̄p t'raz īfecūdita
 tē late uagantes. ex q̄bus q̄da a
 gs icolūt q̄dā portētuoſe ac trces
 carnibz humaīs 7 eoꝝ sāgne ui
 uūt scithie plures t're s̄t locu
 pletes īhītābiles tū plures. nā
 q̄ in plerisq. locis auro 7 gēmis
 affluant griphorū īmaītate
 accessus hoīm rarus ē smarag
 dis a' optimis h' pata est ciane'
 quoqz lapis 7 cristallus p̄issim'
 scithie ē. h̄t 7 flumina magna
 oscoꝝ fasidē 7 araxen p̄ma euro
 pe regio scithia īcipiēs it' danu
 biū 7 oceanū septētonalē usqz
 ad ḡmaniā porrigitur q̄ tra ge
 nalit' p̄p barbaros gētes q̄bz ī
 hītatur barbarica d2 hui' ps
 p̄ma alania est q̄ ad meotidas
 paludes pt̄git. post hāc dacia
 u 7 gothia. deīde ḡmania ubi

plurimā ptem fueui incolueſt
 in partes aſiatice ſcithie ſūt
 gentes q̄ poſt'os ſe iaſoīs cđūt
 albo cne naſcūt' ab aſſiduis ni
 uibz. de hiis iſta ſufficiūt
 Cruidne filius cinge p2 pic
 roz hītāciū ī hac īſula. c.
 ānis regnauit. vii filios ha

(fol. 28, iere colonne)

buit hec ſūt noīa eoꝝ ſiv.
 fidach. floclaid. fortreim. got
 cecircum. circui lx. reg. fidaich
 xl. fortreim lxx. floclaid xxx.
 got xij. Ce xv. fivaid xxiiij.
 gedeolgudach. lxxx. denbecan. c.
 olfineſta. lx. guididgaedbrecha
 ch. l. geſtgurtich. xl. wurgēſt
 xxx. brudebout a q̄ xxx. bru
 de regnaūunt hib'niā 7 albanīā
 p centū. l. ānoꝝ ſpaciū. xl. viii ā
 nis regn. i. brude pant. b. urpāt
 b. ſeo. b. leo. b' uleo. b. gant. b'.
 urgant. b'. guith. b'. urguith. b'.
 fecir. b'. urfecir. b'. cal. b'. urcal. b'.
 ciut b' urciut b' fec. b'. urfec. b.
 ru beru bgart 7 urgart b cinid
 b' urenid b' iup. b' 7 uriup b'grid
 b' urgrid. b' mūd b' urmūd.
 gilgidi c. j. ān reg. tharam

c. morleo. xv. deocifunō
 xl. cimoiod filius arcois vij. deo
 ord. l. bliefblitirth. v. dectotric. fr
 diu xl. usconbuts. xxx. carvorst
 xl. deoartavois. xx. vift. l. ru. c.
 gartnaithloc a quo gartnait. iiii.
 regna. vere. ix. ā. reg. breth fili⁹
 buthut. vii. vipoignamet xxx
 an. reg canutulachama. iiij. an.
 reg. wradechuecla. iv. ān regn.
 gartnaichdi uberr. lx ān reg. ta
 lore fili⁹ achiuir lxxv. ān regn
 druft fili⁹ erp. c. ān reg 7 c. bella
 pegit. ix decimo āno regni ejus
 pat'cius fpc scs ad hib'niā pueit
 isulā. talore fili⁹ aniel iiij ān reg.

(2de colonne)

necto morbet fili⁹ erip xxiiii
 reg t'cio āno regni ejus dar
 lugdach abbatisa cille darade hib'
 nia exulat px ad btāniā scdo
 āno aduentus āno fui imolau
 nectonius aburnethige deo 7
 sce brigide pſente dairlugtach
 q̄ cātauit all'a sup istā hostiā
 optulit g nectoīus mag
 nus fili⁹ wirp rex oīm
 puinciaꝝ pictoꝝ apurnethige
 sce brigide ufꝫ ad diē iudicii cū

cū suis finibz q̄ posite s̄t a lapide
 ī apurfeirt usz ad lapidē iuxt'
 cairfuill. i. lethfols 7 īde ī altū
 usq; ad athan causa aū oblacōis
 hec est. nectoīs ī uita iulie m
 nens fr̄e suo druſto expulsāte
 se usz ad hib'niā brigidā scām
 petiuit ut postulasset deū p̄ se
 orās a' p̄ illo dixit. Si pueies
 ad pat'am tuā dñs miserebit'
 tui regnū pictoz ī pace possideb'
 drest gurthinmoch. xxx.

ān regnū. Galananetilich
 xij ān reg. dadrest. i. drest fili'
 gyrom. i. drest fili' wdrest. v.
 ān gregñ. drest fili' girom sol'
 v. ān. reg. gartnach fili' girom
 vii. ān reg'. gailtram fili' girom
 uno āno reg.' talorg fili' muir
 cholaich. xi. ān. reg. drest fili'
 munait uno āno. reg. galam
 cennaleph uno āno reg. cū b'ri
 duo. i. āno bridei fili' mailcō
 xxx ān. reg. in octauo āno reg

(fol. 28 verso, 1ere colonne)

eius baptizatus est s̄co a colūba
 gartnait. f'domelch xi. ān reg
 nectu nepos uerb xx. ān reg.
 cineoch. fili' lutn. xix. ān reg.

garnard.

garnard. fili⁹ wid. iiii ān. ān reg.
 breidei. fili⁹ wid. v. ān reg. ta
 lore fr̄ eoꝝ xii. ān rēⁱg. tallorcē
 fili⁹ enfret. iiij ān reg. gartnait
 fili⁹ donnel. vi. ān reg. 7 dimi
 diū drest fr̄ e, vij. rēg. bre
 dei fili⁹ bili. xxi. an rēg. tarā
 f⁹ entifidich. iiij ān. rēg. bredei
 fi⁹ derelei xi. an rēg. necthō f⁹
 derelei. xv. ā rēg. drest 7 elpin
 cōggaūūt v. ā. onnist fi⁹
 urguist. xxx. rēg. bredei fili⁹
 wirguist ii. ān. rēg. Ciniod f⁹
 wredech. xij ān rēg. elpin fi⁹
 wroid. iiij. ān. rēg. 7 dimidiū
 drest fi⁹ talorgen iiij. l'v. ān.
 rēg. talorgen. fi⁹ onnist. ii. ā.
 7 dimidiū rēg. Canaul. fili⁹ tarl'a
 v. ā. rēg Castantin. fi⁹ wrguist
 xxx. v. ā rēg. unuist fi⁹ wrguist
 xij. ā. rēg. drest fi⁹ gštātini 7 ta
 lorgen fi⁹ wthoil. iii. ān. a'gga
 ūnt uuen. fi⁹ v. nuist. iiij. ā.
 rēg. wrad. f bargoit iii. 7 bred
 uno āno rēg.
 cinadius ḡ fili⁹ alpini
 pimus scottoꝝ rexit. (*Ec. as Innes, No. III.*)

(Signed) VAN PRAET,
 de la bibl. du Roi.

H h 4

NUMBER

NUMBER XI. *The Chronicon Pictorum, complete, col-
lated with the MS.*

[Written about A. D. 1020.]

Cronica.

De origine antiquorum Pictorum.

PICTI propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore; eo quod, aculeis ferreis cum atramento, variarum figurarum stigmatibus annotantur. Scotti, (qui nunc corruptè vocantur Hibernienses) quasi Sciti, quia a Scithia regione venerunt, et inde originem duxerunt; sive a Scotta filia Pharaonis regis Ægypti, quæ fuit ut fertur regina Scottorum,

Sciendum vero est quod Britones in tertia mundi ætate ad Britanniam venerunt. Scitæ autem, id est Scotti, in quarta ætate Scociam, sive Hiberniam obtinuerunt.

Gentes Scitiæ albo crine nascuntur ab assiduis nivibus; et ipsius capilli color genti nomen dedit, et inde dicuntur Albani: de quibus originem duxerunt Scotti et Picti. Horum glauca oculis (id est picta) inest pupilla, adeo ut nocte plusquam die cernant. Albani autem vicini Amazonibus fuerunt.

Gothi a Magog filio Japheth nominati putantur, de similitudine ultimæ syllabæ; quos veteres Græci magis Gethas, quam Gothos, vocaverunt. Gens fortis et potentissima, corporum mole ardua, armorum genere terribilis. De quibus Lucanus,

Hinc Dacus premat, inde Gethi incurrant Hiberis *.

Daci autem Gothorum soboles fuerunt: et dictos putant Dacos quasi Dagos quia de Gothorum stirpe creati sunt: de quibus ille,

* Hinc Dacus premat, inde Gethes: occurrat Iberis
Alter.

Pharjal. II. 54.

Ibis arcus procul usque Dacos.

Scithæ et Gothi a Magog originem traxerunt. Scithia, quoque et Gothia, ab eodem Magog filio Japhet fertur cognominata: cujus terra olim ingens fuit; nam ab oriente Indiæ, a septentrione, per paludes Mæotidas, inter Danubium et oceanum, usque ad Germaniæ fines, porrigebatur. Postea minor effecta est a dextra orientis parte qui oceanus Siricus conditur*, usque ad mare Caspium, quod est ad occasum. Dehinc a meridie usque ad Caucasum jugum deducta est; cui subjacet Hircania: ab occasu habens pariter gentes multas, propter terrarum infecunditatem late vagantes, ex quibus quædam agros incolunt; quædam portentuosæ, ac truces, carnibus humanis, et eorum sanguine, vivunt.

Scithiæ plures terræ sunt locupletes, inhabitabiles tum plures. Namque in plerisque locis auro et gemmis affluent; Griphorum immanitate accessus hominum rarus est. Smaragdis autem optimis hæc patria est. Cianeus quoque lapis, et cristallus purissimus Scithiæ est. Habent et flumina magna, Oskorim, Faside, et Araxen. Prima Europæ regio Scithia†, incipiens inter Danubium et oceanum septentrionalem, usque ad Germaniam porrigitur: quæ terra generaliter propter barbaras gentes quibus inhabitatur Barbarica dicitur. Hujus pars prima Alania est, quæ ad Mæotidas paludes pertingit. Post hanc Dacia, ubi et Gothia: deinde Germania, ubi plurimam partem Suevi incoluerunt. In partes Asiaticæ Scithiæ sunt gentes, quæ posteros se Jasonis credunt: albo crine nascuntur ab assiduis nivibus. De his ista sufficiunt.

1. CRUIDNE filius Cinge, pater Pictorum habitantium in hac insula, c. annis regnavit: vii filios habuit. Hæc sunt nomina eorum; Fiv, Fidach, Floclaid, Fortreim, Got, Ce, Circum.
2. Circui lx. reg.
3. Fidaich xl.
4. Fortreim lxx.
5. Floclaid xxx.
6. Got xij.
7. Ce xv.
8. Fivaid xxiiij.
9. Gedeolgudach lxxx.

* Locus corruptus, et obscurus.

† Scythiæ inferior quæ a Mæotidis paludibus incipiens. *Innes.*

10. Denbecan c.
11. Olfinecta lx.
12. Guidid gaedbrechach l.
13. Gestgurtich xl.
14. Wurgest xxx*.
15. Brude bout (a quo xxx. Brude regnaverunt Hiberniam et Albaniam, per centum l. annorum spacium) xlvij annis regnavit. Id est Brude Pant, Brude Urpant, Brude Leo. B. Uleo, B. Gant, B. Urgant, B. Guith, B. Urguith, B. Fecir, B. Urfecir, B. Cal, B. Urcal, B. Ciut, B. Urciut, B. Fec, B. Urfec, B. Ru, B. Eru, B. Gart, B. Urgart, B. Cinid, B. Urcinid, B. Iup, B. Uriup, B. Grid, B. Urgrid, B. Mund, B. Urmund.
16. Gilgidi ci. an. reg.
17. Tharam c.
18. Morleo xv.
19. Deocilunon xl.
20. Cimoiod filius Arcois vij.
21. Deoord l.
22. Bliesblitirth v.
23. Dectoteric frater Diu xl.
24. Usconbuts xxx.
25. Carvorst xl.
26. Deoartavois xx.
27. Vist l.
28. Ru c.
29. Gartnaith loc, a quo Garnait, iiij regna.
30. Vere ix an. reg.
31. Breth filius Buthut vij.
32. Vipoig namet xxx. an. reg.
33. Canut ulachama iiij. an. reg.
34. Wradech vecla iv. † an reg.
35. Gartnaich di Uberr lx. an. reg.
36. Talore filius Achivir lxxv. an. reg.
37. DRUST filius Erp c. an. reg. et c. bella peregit. ix decimo anno regni ejus Patricius episcopus sanctus ad Hiberniam pervenit insulam.
38. Talore filius Aniel iiij an. reg.
39. Neeton morbet filius Erp xxiiij. reg. Tertio anno regni ejus Darlugdach, abbatissa cillæ Daradæ, Hibernia exulat proxime ad Britanniam. Se-

* Sic. Innesius habet xl.

† Sic. Innes ii.

cundo anno adventus fui immolavit Neftonius Aburnethige Deo et Sanctæ Brigidæ, præfente Dairlugtach, quæ cantavit Alleluia super istam hostiam. Optulit igitur Neftonius magnus filius Wirp, rex omnium provinciarum Pictorum, Apurnethige sanctæ Brigidæ, usque ad diem judicii; cum suis finibus, quæ positæ sunt a lapide in Apurfeirt, usque ad lapidem juxta Cairsuill, id est, Lethfofs; et inde in altum usque ad Athan. Causa autem oblationis hæc est. Neftonius in Vita Juliæ* manens, fratre suo Druisto expulsante se usque ad Hiberniam, Brigidam sanctam petivit, ut postulasset Deum pro se. Orans autem pro illo dixit: " Si pervenies ad patriam tuam
" Dominus miserebitur tui: regnum Picto-
" rum in pace possidebis."

40. Drest gurthinmoch xxx. an. reg.
41. Galan anetilich xij. an. reg.
42. Dadrest i.
43. Drest filius Girom i. Drest filius Udrost v. an. conregnauerunt. Drest filius Girom solus v. an. reg.
44. Gartnach filius Girom vij. an. reg.
45. Gailtram † filius Girom uno anno reg.
46. Talorg filius Muircholaich xi. an. reg.
47. Drest filius Munait uno anno reg.
48. Galam cennaleph ‡ uno anno reg. cum Briduo i. anno.
49. Bridei filius Mailcon xxx. an. reg. in octavo anno regni ejus baptizatus sancto a Columba.
50. Gartnait fil. Domelch xi. an. reg.
51. Neftu nepos Verb xx. an. reg.
52. Cineoch filius Lutrín xix. * an. reg.
53. Garnard filius Wid iiij. an. reg.
54. Breidei filius Wid v. an. reg.
55. Talore frater eorum xii. an. reg.
56. Tallorcen filius Enfret iiij. an. reg.
57. Gartnait filius Donnel vj. an. reg. et dimidium.
58. Drest frater ejus vij. an. reg.

* Sic. Videtur latina interpretatio alicujus nominis Hibernici.

† Sic. *Innes* Cealtraim.

‡ Sic. *Innes* Galam cum Aleph: male, nam hic rex *Kennath* a Tighernaco nominatur.

* Sic certissime in MS. *Innes*, xi.

59. Bredei filius Bili xxi. an. reg.
60. Taran filius Entifidich iiij. an. reg.
61. Bredei filius Derelei xi. an. reg.
62. Neethon filius Derelei xv. an. reg.
63. Drest et Elpin conregnauerunt v. an.
64. Onnist filius Urguist xxx. reg.
65. Bredei filius Wirguist ij. an. reg.
66. Ciniod filius Wredech xij. an. reg.
67. Elpin filius Wroid iiij. an. reg. et dimidium.
68. Drest filius Talorgen iiij. vel. v. an. reg.
69. Talorgen filius Onnist ij. an. et dimidium, reg.
70. Canaul filius Tarla v. an. reg.
71. Castantin filius Wrguist xxx. v. * an. reg.
72. Unuist filius Wrguist xij an. reg.
73. Drest filius Constantini, et Talorgen filius Wthoil, iiij an. conregnauerunt.
74. Uven filius Unuist iiij. an. reg.
75. Wrad filius Bargoit iii. et,
76. Bred uno anno reg.
77. Cinadius igitur filius Alpini, primus Scottorum, rexit feliciter istam annis xvi. Pictaviam. Pictavia autem a Pictis est nominata; quos, ut diximus †, Cinadius delevit. Deus enim eos pro merito suæ malitiæ, alienos ac otiosos hereditate dignatus est facere: quia illi non solum Deum, missam ac præceptum, spreverunt; sed et in jure æquitatis aliis æqui pariter noluerunt. Iste vero, biennio antequam veniret Pictaviam, Dalrietæ regnum suscepit. Septimo anno regni, reliquias S. Columbæ transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit. Et invasit sexies Saxoniam; et concremavit Dunbarre atque Malros usurpata. Britanni autem concremaverunt Dulblaan. Atque Danari vastaverunt Pictaviam, ad Cluanan, et Duncalden. Mortuus est tandem tumore ani, Id. Febr. feria tertia, in palacio Fothuirtabaicht.
78. Dunevaldus, frater ejus, tenuit idem regnum quatuor annis. In hujus tempore jura, ac leges regni, Edi filii Ecdach, fecerunt Goedeli cum

* Sic. sed chronologia tantum xxx. patitur, ut Innesius habet: v. forte significat *vere* vel *vero*, nam dividitur à xxx. Secundum Tighernacum et Annal Ulton. Constantinus regnat ab A. 789 ad 819, hoc est 30 annis.

† Hand apparet. Locus forsan interpolatus.

rege suo in Fothiurthabaicht. Obiit in palacio suo Belachoir, Id. April.

79. Constantinus fil. Cinadi regnavit annis xvi. Primo ejus anno Mael Sechnaill, rex Hybernensium, obiit; et Aed fil. Niel tenuit regnum. Et post duos annos vastavit Amlaib, cum gentibus suis, Pictaviam, et habitantes eam, a kal. Januar. usque ad festum S. Patricii. Tertio iterum anno Amlaib, trahens cetum *, a Constantino occisus est. Paulo post ab eo † bello, in xiv. ejus facto, in Dolair inter Danarios et Scottos, occisi Scotti in Coachcochlam. Normanni annum integrum degerunt in Pictavia.
80. Edus tenuit idem uno anno. Ejus autem brevitās nil historiæ memoriæ commendavit: sed in civitate Uturim est occisus.
81. Eochodius autem, filius Ku regis Britannorum, nepos Cinadei ex filia, regn. an. xi. Licet Ciricius fil. alii dicunt hīc regnasse; eo quod alumpnus, ordinatorque, Eochodio fiebat. Cujus secundo anno Aed fil. Niel moritur. Ac in nono anno, ipso die Cirici eclipsis solis facta est. Eochodius, cum alumno suo, expulsus est nunc de regno.
82. Donivaldus fil. Constantini tenuit regnum xi. annis. Normanni tunc vastaverunt Pictaviam. In hujus regno bellum autem factum in Vifidcollan, inter Danarios et Scottos: Scotti habuerunt victoriam. Opidum Fother occisum est a gentibus.
83. Constantinus fil. Edii tenuit regnum xl. annis. Cujus tertio anno Normanni prædaverunt Duncalden, omnemque Albaniam. In sequenti utique anno occisi sunt in Fraith heremi Normanni. Ac in vi. an. Constantinus rex, et Cellachus episcopus, leges, disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum, evangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis, in Colle Credulitatis, prope regali civitate Scoan, devoverunt custodiri. Ab hoc die collis hoc meruit nomen, i. e. Collis Credulitatis. Et in suo viii. anno cecidit excelsissimus rex Hybernensium,

* Phrasis Hibernica: *colligens exercitum*.

† Locus corruptus.

et archiepiscopus, apud Laignechos, i. Cormace filius Culenani. Et mortui sunt, in tempore hujus, Dovenaldus rex Britanorum, et Dovenaldus filius Ed rex eligitur*: et Flanu filius Mael Sethnail, et Niall fil. Ede, qui regnavit III. annos post Flanu, &c. Bellum Tinemore factum est, in xviii. anno, inter Constantinum et Regnall: et Scotti habuerunt victoriam. Et bellum Dunbrunde, in xxxiv. ejus anno; ubi cecidit filius Constantini. Et post unum annum mortuus est Dubucan, fil. Indrechtaig, Mormair Oengusa. Adelstan fil. Advar, rig Saxan†; et Eochaid fil. Alpin; mortui sunt. Et in senectute decrepitus [R. Constantinus] baculum cepit, et Domino servivit: et regnum mandavit Mael filio Domnail.

84. Maelcolaim fil. Domnail xi. an. regn. Cum exercitu suo Maelcolaim perexit in Moreb, et occidit Celach. In vii. anno regni sui prædavit Anglos ad annem Thesis; et multitudinem rapuit hominum, et multa armenta pecorum: quam prædam vocaverunt Scotti prædam Albidosorum, i. e. Nauudisi. Alii autem dicunt Constantinum fecisse hanc prædam, quærens a rege, i. Maelcolaim, regnum dari sibi ad tempus hebdomadis, ut visitaret Anglos. Verumtamen non Maelcolaim fecit hanc prædam, sed instigavit eum Constantinus, ut dixi. Mortuus est autem Constantinus in x. ejus anno, sub corona pænitenti, in senectute bona. Et occiderunt viri na ‡ Moerne Malcolaim in Fodresach, i. in Claideom.

85. Indulfus tenuit regnum octo annis. In hujus tempore oppidum Eden vacuatum est, ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem. Classi Somarlidiorum occisi sunt in Bucham.

86. Niger fil. Maelcolaim regn. quinque annis. Fothach episcopus pausavit, [Bellum] inter Niger et Caniculum §, super Dorsum Crup, in quo Niger habuit victoriam: ubi cecidit

* MS. elig.

† Phrasis Hibernica, *rex Saxonum*.

‡ Vox Hibernica, *de*.

§ Niger Hibernicè *Duff*: Caniculus, *Culen*.

Duchad Abbas Duncalden, et Dubdou Satrapas Athochlach. Expulsus Niger de regno, et tenuit Caniculus brevi tempore. Domnall fil. Canill mortuus est.

87. Culen Ring quinque annis regn. Marcan fil. Breodalaig occisus est in ecclesia S. Michaelis. Leot et Sluagadach exierunt ad Romam. Maelbrigd episcopus pausavit; Cellach fil. Ferdalaig regnavit. Maelbrigde fil. Dubican obiit. Culen, et frater ejus Eochodius, occisi sunt a Britonibus.

88. Cinadius fil. Maelcolami regn. an. Statim prædavit Britanniam: ex parte pedestres Cinadi occisi sunt maxima cæde in Moni Vacornar. Scotti prædaverunt Saxoniam ad Stammoir, et ad Cluiam, et ad Stang na Deram. Cinadius autem vallavit ripas vadorum Forthin. Primo * anno perexit Cinadius, et prædavit Saxoniam, et traduxit filium regis Saxonum. Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne Domino.

* Sic. forte proximo.

NUMBER XII. *On the devotion to St. Andrew among the
Piks.* From the same MS. fol. r. 31.

Qualiter acciderit quod memoria Sancti Andreae Apostoli amplius in Regione Pictorum, quæ nunc Scotia dicitur, quam in cæteris regionibus sit: et quomodo contigerit quod tantæ abbatiae ibi factæ antiquitus fuerint, quas multi adhuc seculares viri jure hæreditario possident.

ANDREAS, qui interpretatur, secundum Hebre-
am Ethimologiam*, Decoris sive Respondens,
sermone enim Græco, a viro, Virilis interpretatur, ger-
manus beati Petri Apostoli, choeres autem ejus gratiæ;
secundum Joannem Evangelistam primus Apostolus a
Christo Jhesu Domino nostro electus; secundum vero
Matheum, Marcumque, secundus. Hic sorte prædica-
tionis aquilonaes nationes Cithias†, Pictonesque; pos-
tremè Achaidas, ipsamque civitatem nomine Patras, ac-
cepit. In qua etiam cruci suspensus est, 11. Kalenda-
rum Descimbrium, ibique obcubuit. Et in qua custo-
dita sunt ossa illius, usque ad tempus Constantini Magni,
filii Helenæ, atque filiorum ejus Constantini cum Con-
stante; quasi spatio cclxxv annorum. In quorum
regno a Constantinopolitanis, miro famosoque ductu,
inde suscepta, atque translata sunt Constantinopolim;
et cum magna gloria et maximo honore ibidem recon-
dita sunt: et manserunt semper usque ad tempus Theo-
dotionis, Christiani Imperatoris, spatio scilicet cx anno-
rum.

Tunc divino instinctu Rex Pictorum, nomine Un-
gus filius Urguist, cum exercitu magno confurgens,
Britannicas nationes dexteram‡ ejus insulæ inhabitan-
tes, crudelissima vastatione interficiens, postremo pervenit
usque ad Campum Merc, illic hiemavit. Eo tempore

* Orthographia MS. servatur.

† Scythas.

‡ Partem australem.

omnes pene totius insulæ gentes, unanimo impetu venientes, circumdederunt eum, volentes cum exercitu suo penitus delere. Altera autem die evenit Regi prædicto, cum septem comitibus amicissimis, ambulare: et circumfulsit eos divina lux; et proni in facies suas, non valentes eam sustinere, ceciderunt in terram. Et ecce vox de cœlo audita est: “Ungus, Ungus, audi me
“Apostolum Christi, Andream nomine, qui missus
“sum ad te defendendum, atque custodiendum. Sci-
“licet vide signum crucis Christi, quod stat in aere,
“atque procedat contra inimicos tuos. Verumptamen
“decimam partem hæreditatis tuæ, et elemosinam Deo
“omnipotenti, et in honore Sancti Andreæ ejus, offer.”

Tertia autem die, divina voce ammonitus, suum exercitum in XII. turmas divisit: et signum crucis unamquamque partem præcedebat; lux autem divina de uniuscujusque signi capite fulgebat. Tunc victores facti, Deo omnipotenti, atque Sancto Andreæ Apostolo, gratias egerunt. Patriam autem venientes incolumes, decimam suæ hereditatis partem Deo, et Sancto Andreæ Apostolo venerabili, volentes offerre, implendo quod scriptum est, Date elemosinam, et omnia munda sunt vobis. Incertum vero habebant in quo loco specialiter vestigalem Deo, principalem civitatem Sancto Andreæ Apostolo, ordinarent.

Tunc, inito concilio, binis, ternis, quatruiduanis, diebus, jejunantes; atque Dei omnipotentis misericordiam postulantes; unus custodientium corpus Sancti Andreæ Apostoli Constantinopoli, visione divina et revelatione ammonitus atque instructus est, dicente; “Exi de terra
“tua, et de cognatione tua, et de domo tua, et vade in
“terram quam monstravero tibi.” Tunc venit, Angelo comitante, atque viam illius custodiente.

Prospere pervenit ad verticem Montis Regis, id est Rigmond. Eadem autem hora, qua illic lassus federet cum suis septem comitibus, lux circumfulsit divina Regem Pictorum, venientem cum suo exercitu ad specialem locum, qui dicitur Kartenau; et claritatem non ferentes ceciderunt in facies suas. Et sanati sunt claudi, et cæci, numero septem; et unus a nativitate cæcus illuminatus est. Et inde vidit locum plenum visitatione angelorum. Postremo Dei ordinatione Rex, cum suo exercitu, venit ad locum, quem Dominus illo cæco qui illuminatus fuerat ostendit.

Regulus vero monachus, a Constantinopolitana urbe peregrinus, Regi obviavit, cum reliquiis Sancti Andreae Apostoli, quas secum hinc huc adduxerat, ad portam quæ dicitur Matha, id est Mordurus. Salutaverunt se invicem cives et hospites; atque tentoria ibi fixerunt, ubi nunc est aula Regia. Rex vero Ungus hunc locum, et hanc civitatem, Deo Omnipotenti, Sanctoque Andreae Apostolo, ea semper libertate dedit, ut sit caput et mater omnium ecclesiarum, quæ sunt in regno Pictorum. Ad istam enim civitatem conveniunt peregrini palmarii de Jerusalem, Romani, Græci, Armenii, Theutonii, Almanni, Saxones, Daci, Gallicani, Galli, Anglici, Britones; viri et sceminae; divites et pauperes; sani corpore et ægri; claudi; cæci. In equis et curribus debiles huc deferuntur; atque per Dei misericordias, ad honorem et gloriam sui summi Sancti Apostoli Andreae, infestissime curantur. Virtutes, et signa, et innumerable prodigia, per suum sanctum Apostolum Andream, Dominus fecit hîc, facit, et facturus est, quæ hîc non possint scribi. Regulus vero abbas, atque monachus, cum suis charis comitibus, habitavit in loco isto, in monachica vita; serviens Deo, die ac nocte, in sanctitate et justitia, cunctis diebus vitæ suæ. Quorum corpora hîc requiescunt.

ISTE Regulus tertiam partem totius Scotiæ in manu sua, et potestate habuit, et per Abbantias ordinavit atque distribuit. Patria illa siquidem Pictis, Scottis, Dacis, Norvagenfibus, ceterisque qui ad vastandum insulam applicuerant, situ locorum, amenitatisque, paverat*. Et si aliquando refugii opus fuisset, tutum receptaculum eis semper præstabat; et sese infra eam quasi in propria castra receperunt†.

* forte placuerat.

† Talis est prima et rudis delineatio fabulæ de Regulo. Vide Excerpta Reg. St. And.

NUMBER XIII. Versus de præstantia Regni Scotorum.
*(or rather a foolish prophecy concerning the Welch and Scots,
 written about 1310.)* From the same MS. fol. 9, v.

REGNUM Scotorum fuit, inter cætera regna
 Terrarum, quondam nobile, forte, potens.
 Reges magnifici, Bruti de stirpe, regebant
 Fortiter, egregiè, Scotica regna prius.
 Ex Albanacto, trinepote potentis Eneæ,
 Dicitur Albania: littera prisca probat.
 A Scota, nata Pharaonis regis Egypti,
 Ut veteres tradunt, Scotia nomen habet.
 Post Britones, Danaos, Pictos, Dacosque, repulso,
 Nobiliter Scoti jus tenuere suum.
 Facta ducis celebris, super omnia, Scotia flebit;
 Qui loca septa falo junget ubique sibi.
 Principe magnifico tellus viduata vacabit;
 Annis bis ternis, mensibus atque novem.
 Antiquos reges, justos, largos, locupletes,
 Formosos, fortes, Scotia mœsta luget.
 Ut Verilinus ait, post reges victoriosos,
 Regis more carens, regia sceptrum foret.
 Serviet Angligeno regi per tempora quondam,
 (Proh dolor!) Albania; fraude subacta sua.
 Quod respirabit, post funus regis avari,
 Versibus antiquis prisca Sibylla canit.
 Rex Borealis enim, numerosa classe potitus,
 Affliget Scotos ense, furore, fame:
 Extera gens tandem Scotorum fraude peribit;
 In bello princeps Noricus ille cadet.
 Gallia quem gignit, qui gazis regna replebit,
 O dolor! O gemitus! primus ab ense cadet.
 Candidus Albanus, patriotis causa ruinæ,
 Traditione sua Scotica regna premet.
 Posteritas Bruti, Albanis associata,
 Anglica regna premet morte, labore, fame.
 Quem Britonum fundet Albani juncta juvenus;
 Sanguine Saxonico tincta rubebit humus.

Flumina manabunt, hostili tineta cruore,
Perfida gens omni lite subacta ruet.
Regnabunt Britones, Albani gentis amici;
Antiquum nomen insula tota feret.
Ut aquila profert, veteri de turre locata,
Cum Scotis Britones regna paterna regent.
Regnabunt pariter, in prosperitate quieta,
Hostibus expulsis, Judicis usque diem.
Historiæ veteris Gildas luculentus orator,
Quem retulit, parvo carmine plura notans:
MENS, cor, cur capiunt; lex Christi vera jocunda,
Primam cunctorum tibi dat formam futurorum.
Draco draconem rubens album superabit;
Anglorum nomen tollet; rubei renovabit.
Solis in occasu leopardi viscera frigent;
Vertices et cerebrum Cambria tollet ei.
Quo duce sublato, tria ovantia regna peribunt,
Saxonix soboli lilia frena dabunt.
Virtus Germanici leopardi tineta veneno
Lilia vincendi fugere presto cadet.
Eufrates, et Tigris, Forth rever*, atque Nilus,
Per mundi metas lilia subtus erunt.

* foxth reū, MS.

NUMBER XIV. *The Origin of the Píks; extracted
from the Book of Ballymote.*

EGO Nennius Elvodugi discip̃ls a q̃ discerpta
scribere curavi, i. e. Ro deithnigiufa coro
scribaid airoile dolo martha, & me Nennius deas-
cupal Elvodaigh daigh rodramaid beas & aenach
na nam Brethnac seanchasa & buanda na ceat
daine conafileadh ifaitne iscribeanaib na leabrib
misi h̃ ro coimthinoilius na seancusa in analtaib
na Romān & ic croinicib na frutha naom, i. e. es
Suidir (Suidas) & Cirine & Eusebius & ahanal-
taib Gaedil & anafuarus athidhnacul arnairfata de
bunadh Crutneach and seo.

Cruithne.

mc Cinge.

mc Lućtai.

mc Partolan.

mc Agnoin.

mc Mais.

mc Fathecht.

mc Jafet.

mc Noe.

Ise athair Cruitneach & cet bla do irrighe.

Secht mic Cruithneach an so i. e. Fib.

Fidach. Fodla-fortreand. Cathac. Cait.

Ce. Cirig. agus secht randaib ro roindset
in fearann *ut dixit* Colum Cilli:

Moirseisir do Cruithne clainn

Randset Albain i secht rainn.

Cait, Ce, Cirigh, Ceathac, clann,

Fib, Fidach, Fotla fortreand.

Acus ise ainm gac fir dib.
 Fib 34 bla irrighe.
 Fidach 40. Bruide pont
 Fortreand 70 bl Urpont.
 Cait 2 bla ar xx Uleo.
 Cirig 80 bl B. gant.
 Ce 12 bl. B. uleo.
 Aenbeccann im B. urgent.
 Caith 30 b. B. gnith.
 Finecta 60 bl. B. urngith.
 Guidid gad bre B. feth. 1. Geis. 1 bl.
 B. urfeichir geast gid 40 b. B. cal.
 Urgeas 30 bl. B. Urcal.

Bruide pont 30. B. cint ri Uladh. 51 Urcint
 dedbtea fri B fet, gach fir dib, & B. urfeth randa
 na fearann B. ruaile ro gabfadar 50. *ut est* illea-
 braib na Cruitneach. Bruide ero. B. gart B. Ur-
 gart. B. cind. B. urcind. B. uip. B. uruip. B.
 grith. B. urngith. B. muin, B. urmuin.

Britannnia insola, a Britone filio Ificon dca est
 (dicta est) i. e. Briton mc Ificon ro ainigheadh.
 1. m. c. consul ro bai ir Romanaib Ailbion ro be
 c. aim idfi Breatain da c. mile alleithi. Ocht pm
 cathraca 20 indti & isiatso sis. Caer Goirthig-
 hirnd Caer Gutais, &c. &c. &c.

de Cruithneacaib incipit.

A tir Tracia tangadar Cruithnigh. 1. Clanda
 Geleoin mc Ercoil iad. Agathyrfi anamanda.
 Seifur brathar tangadar toiseac. 1. Solen. Ulsa.
 Neachtan. Drostan. Aengus. Letcind.

Fatha-a-tiactana. 1. Policornus ri Tragia do
 rad gradh da siar, co ro triall abreth gan togra.
 Lodar carsin tar Romanchu co Frangcu & cum-
 taigit cathar an. 1. Pictavis a pictis 1. an armtaib.
 Acus do rac ri Fngcu gradh dia siar. Lodar fom-
 muir iarneg in tseiseadh brathar. 1. Letcind. Ic
 and dalaa iarndul formuir at bath a siur, gabfat
 Cruitnigh inb. Slaine im Uib-Ceinnfelaigh.

Atbt

Atbt riu Creamthand Sciathbal Ri Laighen do
bad failti doib ar dichur Tuaithe fidhbha. Adbt
Drostan Drui Cruitneac 1. Bleogan. fechtfighit bo
find do dhortugh maile is fearfaidh im cath do
ronnadh indi sin, & do ronnadh im cath doib. 1.
Cath arda leamnacta im Uib Ceindsellagh, gac
aen no ghontis, no laighed isin leamnact, ni cum-
gadh a neimh ni doneocaib.

Romarbtha dam iartain Tuatha fidhbha. Mairb-
ceathra do Cruitneacaib carsin Drostan, Solen,
Neactan, Ulfa. Gabais gub & amc. 1. Cathluan
neart mor an Ern go ionarbar Erimoin. & go
tarda mna na fear ro baitea immaille fond doib. 1.
ma bresse, & buamaiffe. &c. &c. Anais feis dib
os Breagmaigh. Is uadibh gac geifs, gac sen,
gac freod, & gotha en & gac mna. Cathluan ba
aird-ri orro uile & ise c. ri rogabh dib an Albain.
Lxx righdibh f Albain o Cathluan gu Constantin
& ise Cruithneac deidhenac. Ro scab damc. 1.
Catinolodor & Catinolocan imda curadh. Lin mc
Pirn & Cind athair Cruithne. Crus me Cirigh,
amilid Uaisnem afillid, Cruithne a ceard. Dom-
nal me Ailpin, ise toiseac go ro marb Britus indsi
Ificon. Clanna Neimidh ro gabfat iarm Britus.
1. iarglun. Cruithne ro gabfat iarsin iarteact doib
a Heirinn. Gaedil im ro gabfat iarsin. 1. mc
Eirc. mc Eacadach.

TRANSLATION*.

I Nennius, disciple of Elvodug, from whom I have
carefully made the following extracts; viz. the origin
and

* This foolish piece from the Book of Ballymote, written in the
14th or 15th century, is partly copied from the *Chronicon Pictorum*,
but

and manners of the ancient Britons, supported by the best authority. I H. * well skilled in the antiquities and annals of the Romans, and in the chronicles of pure authors, viz. Suidir, Cirin, Eusebius; and in the Irish annals; and I find sufficient evidence for the origin of the Cruitne, in manner following, viz. Cruitne, son of Cinge. S. Luçtai, S. Partolan, S. Agnoin, S. Mais, S. Fathecht, son of Japhet, son of Noah.

He was the father of the Cruitne, and ruled 100 years.

Cruitne had seven sons, viz. Fib, Fideach, Fodla-fortreand, Cathac, Cait, Ce, Cirig; and they divided the kingdom into seven parts, as says Colum Kill.

The seven sons of Cruitne, into seven parts divided Alban;

Cait, Ce, Cirigh, Ceathec, Fib, Fideach, Fotla-fortreand.

And these are their names (*and reigns*).

Fib 34 years kings.

Fidach 40 Bruide pont (&c. *see original*).

Bruide pont 30 years, &c. &c. Bruide Cint K. of Ulster, 51 years. Urcint made war on Bruidefeth and destroyed every one of the Clann, and Bruide Urfeth divided the land. Bruide Ruaile ruled 50 years, as in the books of the Cruitne, &c. &c.

The island of Briton was so called from Briton, son of Ificon, viz. in the first consulship of the Romans; its first name was Albion; it is 200 miles in breadth, and contains 28 chief cities, viz. Caer-Goirthighernd. Caer-Gutais, &c. &c. &c.

Here begins the history of the Cruitne.

The Cruitne came from Thrace; they were the sons or clann of Gelon of Hercules: they were called Agathyrfi. Six brothers came over chiefs or leaders; viz. Solen, Ulfa, Neachtan, Drosten, Aengus, Letcind.

Fatha-atiactana, alias Policornus, king of Thrace, fell in love with their sister, and endeavoured to seduce her, without settling a dowry on her. Then they

but corrupted with errors and gross fable. The name of Nennius is used by the weak forger of it, to give it more authority. It is a good specimen of Irish fabulous history: and as it makes the Piks proceed from Ireland to North Britain, in opposition to all ancient authorities, it is no wonder that the Irish fabulists should insist that the modern Scots (who are the same people antiently called Piks) came from Ireland.

* Say N. that is Nennius.

passed

passed through the (country of the) Romans to that of the Franks, and there built a city, viz. Piētavis, so called from Piētis, that is a kind of arms or weapons. And the king of the Franks fell in love with their sister. Then the sixth brother Letcind, dying, they roamed about the seas, and it so happened that the sister dying on shipboard, the Cruitne made for Inver Slaine in Hy-Kinfillagh (in Leinster).

Creamthan Sciathbal king of Leinster told them, they should be welcome, provided they would free him of the *tribe* widows. Drostan, alias Bleogan, a priest or Druid of the Cruitne, replied, to-morrow at the rising of the sun (the milk of) seven score white cows shall be spilt; this occasioned an engagement, and they fought the battle of Arda leamnacta in Hy-Kinfilligh; where not one escaped being wounded or speared, receiving no support from their horses or
* * * *

Then all the widows died: after that died Drostan, Solen, Neachtan, Ulfa of the Cruitne.

Cathluan began to gather great strength and power in Ireland, till he was expelled by Erimon, who gave his people women and land; and they settled in Breag-maigh: they were in want of order or distinction; had neither spears (for hunting) nets (for fowling) or women.

Cathluan was chief over all; and he first led them to Alban.

LXX Kings over Alban from Cathluan to Constantane; and he was the last of the Cruitinian (kings). He left two sons, Catinolodar and Catinolocan, both in great distress. Lin, son of Pirn, and Cind Athair Cruitne, Crus mc Cirigh, Uaisneim the File, Cruitne the mechanic, Donald mc Alpin was chief when Britus, son of Isicon, died. The Clanna Neimid ruled after Britus, (i. e. his descendants). The Cruitne ruled next, coming from Ireland. The Gaedhal came next, viz. mc Eirc mc Eacadach*.

* In another Irish poem in the book of Ballymote, which seems to be a transcript of Nennius put into Irish Verse, it is said

Agathyrfi anamann. amrann Erēbi
Ocearptar dia cuēli adbtar iad Piēti.

“They were called Agathyrfi, and from a kind of slaughtering weapon they were called Piēti.” *Translator.*

NUMBER XV. *Pikish kings, from Lynche's Cambrensis*
Everfus, London, 1662, fol. p. 93.

IN Hibernica Nennii versione, penes me, catalogus est Regum Pictorum, cujus partem hic exhibeo; ut lectori constet vel diversos ejusdem nominis reges Pictis et Scotis imperasse, vel quod ego contendo Scotos Pictorum reges sibi arrogasse.

Brudeus filius Melchon (cujus nono regni S. Columbam in Britanniam venisse Beda scribit), regnavit annis 30. Garnad filius Domnach 11. Neckan nepos Verp 20. Kenethus filius Luthrin 19. Garnaid filius Vaid 7. Brudeus filius Vaid 5. Tolorc frater eorum 12. Talorcan filius Enfret 4. Gornad filius Donel 6 et dimidio an. Druse frater ejus 7. Brudeus filius Fili 20. Taran filius Enfidi 4. Breites filius Derilei 11. Nectonus filius Derilei 10. Drestus et Alpinus conregnauerunt 5. Onuis fil. Urgust 30. Brete fil. Urgust 15. Kenethus fil. Viredeg 12. Alpinus filius Vrod 3. et dimidio an. Drest fil. Tolorcen 11. Tolorcen fil. Druften 5 vel 15. Tolercen fil. Uniust 12. et dimidio. Canul fil. Tang 5. Cuaftain fil. Urgust 35. Vidanist fil. Urgust 12. Drest fil. Constantinus et Talorgus fil. Uthol conregnauerunt 3. Unen fil. Unust 3. Urard fil. Barget 3. Bread 1. Kenethus fil. Alpini 16. Domhnal fil. Alpini 4. Constantinus fil. Aedi 45. Moelcolumb fil. Domnalli 9. Culen fil. Ildolbh fil. Constantini 4. Kenethus fil. Moelcolumb 24. Constantinus fil. Culen uno et medio anno. Kenethus filius Dubh 8. Moelcolumb fil. Keneti 30. Donatus nepos vel filius Moelcolumbi 6. Macleathad fil. Finlaigh 16. Luboch quinque menses. Moelcolumb fil. Donati postea.

NUMBER XVI. *Commentary on an obscure passage in the
Chronicon Rhythmicum.*

THE *Chronicon Rhythmicum*, to be found at the end of many MSS. of Fordun, has the following passage, concerning the time when the Piks and Scots settled in Britain.

Quod jam promisi, tempus sic ecce relisi;
Bis bis centeno, quater endeca, sed minus uno
Anno, quo sumpsit primos Ergadia Scotos,
Ut referunt ista, fuit incarnatio Christi.
Annorum summa, Pictis præoccupatorum,
Hic dat Scotorum, deca quinque centibinorum,
Et annos quindecim; tres menses jungito quidem.
Tunc Scoti quærent quot anni præterierunt,
Postquam vicerunt Pictos, qui tunc coluerunt
Albaniam, citro Drunalban, sed minus ultra.
Ut Scoti valeant memoratum tempus habere,
Par Scotiam totam quo ceperunt residere
[*Qui Picti terram rexere mille ducentis,
Et pariter junctis viginti quatuor annis,
Ut verum renovem, mensibus atque novem.*]
Pictis amotis, datur hæc responsio Scotis:
D. semel et ter C.; post X. ter; et X. quater inde;
Istorum numeri monstrant quo tempore Christi,
Sed trans Dun-Alban, coepit regnare Kenedus.

* * *

Sed cum septenis Kened regnaverat annis,

* * *

Ex tunc Albaniae regnum totale regebat.

Before commenting on this obscure passage, it will be proper to offer a few remarks on the ideas of some other old Scottish writers relating to this subject.

Innes has observed, in his critical Essay, that after the year 1301, when the dispute with Edward I. arose, we first find the Scottish writers claiming a priority of settlement, for the Irish Scots, over the Piks.

Baldred

Baldred Bisset, in his Memorial to the Pope, 1301, asserts wildly that the Scots had thirty-six catholic kings before the English were converted.

A writer in Fordun's Scotichronicon, IV. 10, says the Scots had twenty-three kings, before the Piks came into Britain; which by his account was about 200 years before Christ.

The letter of the Scottish nobility to the Pope, 1320, says that Robert Bruce was the 113th king of Scots. But this number, as appears from Innes, p. 712, extends from Simon Brec, first king of the Scots in Ireland.

Winton, Book IV. informs us :

Four hundreth winter, and fourty,
And twa, to rekkyne evynly,
Before the blist nativitie, &c.
As in our storie written is,
Than in Scotland the Scottis
Begouth to ring, and to steir;
Twa hundreth fullie, and forty yeir,
Five winteir, and moneths thrie,
Gif that all suld rekkynit be,
Or the Peychtis into Scotland
Cam, and in it were regnand.

He also says that when Kenneth * vanquished the Piks, the later had been soverieigns of Scotland,

A thousand, ane and fixty yheres.

And, some chapters after, he dates the coming of the Piks from Scythia to Scotland,

Twa hundreth wintyr, and na mair,
Or that the madyn Marie bair.

Fordun, I. 31, says that, according to an old chronicle, the Scots came to Scotland 1543 years before Christ: the Scots reigned before the Piks 249 years, 3 months: and the Pikish kingdom lasted 1061 years: but by other accounts, 1224 years, 9 months. In book I. cap. ult. he remarks that some accounts bore that the Scots reigned before the Piks 265 years, 3 months: others 317 years under 23 kings. In IV. 10, he repeats these remarks. But he himself allows, I. 37, that the Piks and Scots were in Britain about one and the same time.

* Winton gives no positive date for this event. Alpin's reign he dates 840, Kenneth's '843 (in Dalriada), Kenneth's death 859.

Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *Descriptio Albanie*, says, that some made the Píkish kingdom last 1070, others 1360, years.

These observations being premised, the above obscure passage remains to be considered.

Bis bis centeno, quater endeca, sed minus uno
Anno, quo sumplit primos Ergadia Scotos,
Ut referunt isti, fuit incarnatio Christi.

Bis bis centeno is 'the twice two hundredth', that is 400: *quater endeca* 'four times eleven' is 44; *minus uno* 'less by one' leaves for the sum 443 years. After *anno* supply *a*, and the clear sense is, 443 years after the Scots arrived in Argyle was the Incarnation of Christ; that is the Scots came to Argyle 443 years before Christ. Winton reckons only 442, in the above passage. Fordun no where expressly marks the year when the Scots came in; but supposes them to have been in Britain some time before Fergus I. whose reign he dates, ll. 12, in the 330th year before Christ.

Annorum summa, Píctis præoccupatorum,
Hic dat Scotorum, deca quinque centibinorum,
Et annos quindecim; tres menses jungito quidem.

Deca quinque 'five tens' fifty: *centibinorum* 'two hundred:' *quindecim, tres menses*; in all 265 years 3 months, as Fordun above interprets. But Winton has 245.

Qui Pícti terram rexere mille, ducentis,
Et pariter junctis viginti quatuor annis,
Ut verum renovem, mensibus atque novem.

Fordun interprets this 1224 years, 3 months.

D. semel; et ter C.; post X. ter; et X. quater inde.

seems to denote that Kenneth began to reign in Dalriada, (*sed trans Dunaiban*), in 844: and he vanquished the Píks, *septennis annis*, or seven years after, as our poem says. Fordun dates Kenneth's reign in Dalriada 834; Winton 843.

The first passage tells us that the Scots came to Britain 443 years before Christ. The second that they preceded the Píks 265 years, 3 months. That is the Píks arrived 177 years, 9 months, before Christ.

The third says the Píks had ruled 1224 years, 9 months, when in 851 they were vanquished by Kenneth. It follows that the Píks began to rule 373 years, 9 months,

9 months, before Christ. How can this be reconciled? The difference is just 196 years.

And how reconcile this piece with the *Descriptio Albaniae*, which bears that some extended the duration of the Pikiſh kingdom to 1070; others to 1360 years? The numbers are ſo diſcordant, that it is utterly impoſſible to reconcile them; and if it were poſſible, the labour were very ill beſtowed, as the different accounts are equally viſionary and fantaſtic.

But the intention of this little comment was merely to ſhew, that the numbers even in this poem are irreconcilable. And the reaſon is that Innes has groſſly miſtaken it's nature. He ſuppoſes, p. 600, that all the part down to Alexander III. is written in his time; and all after by another hand. Yet in his notes on the piece itſelf, p. 816, when he comes to the pretended Second Part, he obſerves *Haëtenus continentur quæ AUCTOR ex ſcriptis, ſive priſcis chronicis, deſumpſerat. Hic incipit deſcribere quæ vel ipſe per ſe, vel ex coævorum relatione, nov erat: hinc addendum cenſuimus titulum hunc Secunda Pars.* Here we find only one author mentioned: and how he could have lived in different ages is ſubmitted to the reader. The fact is, that he lived and wrote in the year 1447; as he tells us in his concluding lines.

This poem can only be found in the end of Fordun; and is, as the preface ſays, an abſtract of his chronicle; or rather of the Scotiſh chronicle, or hiſtory, in general. It is never quoted, nor referred to, either by Fordun or Winton, tho they quote the *Chronicon Elegiacum* often: ſo that certainly it was not written before their time. The ſuppoſed Second Part is a mere imagination of Innes. The whole is of one form, and complection. The ſame confuſed kind of verſe, ſometimes riming at the middle and end; ſometimes in couplet; ſometimes not riming at all; juſt as the rude compoſer could make it, occurs thro-out.

What miſled Innes is, 1. That the author, according to the Paris MS. from which Innes publiſhed this piece, ſays in his preface he compoſed it, '*ſcripto veteri metrico, et novo ad propoſitum respondente*;' but the Paisley MS. reads '*partim ex metris veteribus, partim ex recentibus ad propoſitum facientibus.*' Innes, following the former reading, ſuppoſes diſtinct parts are implied. But the ſecond reading explains the firſt to mean only that the author inſerted ſome old rimes. Which he really has; and with wonderful addreſs! For the three lines,

Qui

Qui Picti terram rexere mille, ducentis,
 Et pariter junctis viginti quatuor annis,
 Ut verum renovem; mensibus atque novem.

are taken literatim from Fordun, who quotes them, I. 31. And our sagacious poetaster breaks a chasm for them, between two lines so closely connected, as not even to admit a comma: and without once perceiving that they totally confute what he had just said. At same time these *three* lines, and a few marked by Innes as interpolated, p. 813, are the only ones in the whole poem, to be found quoted in Fordun, or any where else before 1447; and it is clear that Fordun did not take them from this poem, but the poem from Fordun.

2. The grand reason, which induced Innes to infer that this poem is more ancient than Fordun, was, that the list of our early kings, to be found in it, differs from Fordun's new scheme; and is consonant with our old chronicles: for it omits all Fordun's fictitious monarchs, beginning only at Fergus son of Erc, and passing over Fordun's interpolated kings. As the author calls his poem an abstract of Fordun, this is indeed surprizing. But as he has confessedly told us one falsehood, in calling his poem an abstract of a writer, whom he contradicts; so we know not where, or how, to believe him; for he who deceives us in one instance, may in others. Innes also falls into another contradiction, when he supposes the first part of this piece written in the time of Alexander III. yet says that the idea of the Scots being in Britain before the Picts, was adopted after his reign; while this very poem asserts the Scots to have been in Britain before the Picts. That there are some scraps in this misbegotten piece, older than 1447, seems clear: but there is no reason to infer that there is a line in it, written before 1320. And it was in 1447 so altered, and interpolated, that no more reliance can be placed on it, than if it were wholly written at that time. So that it cannot be ranked as an early, or authentic, monument of our history.

Innes was anxious for proofs that Fergus son of Erc, and not the fabulous Fergus I. was really first king of the Scots in Dalriada. This is sufficiently clear from the other two ancient catalogues of our kings, produced by him; and from the Irish Annals: so that there was no occasion to give this piece a mock antiquity, to enforce the truth. And as this truth is now allowed on all

hands, it is of no moment that the *Chronicon Rhythmicum* should be received in the new point of view, in which Innes has placed it. There seems little doubt, from the similar manner of marking the numerals, down to the very end 1447, that the list of early monarchs is not an old fragment, but really written in 1447. It indeed differs from Fordun; but we are not to conceive that Fordun's new scheme was universally received: and perhaps this difference was owing merely to the indolence of the author, who, instead of turning over Fordun's vast mass, for the little scraps concerning our early kings, found it easier to take one of the short catalogues ready made to his hands, and turn it into verse.

These remarks are here given, because had this piece been a real monument of our early history, it would have been proper to have considered it in Part III. ch. 4, of this work, concerning the epoch of the Pictish settlement in Britain.

NUMBER XVII. *Instrumentum possessionum Ecclesiæ Glas-*
cuenfis *. [circa A. 1118.]

IGITUR quandoquidem predecessorum instituta mortalium literarum ostentatione, et scribarum deliberatione, ad memoriam revocantur, nos Cumbrensiū quædam gesta nobilium presentibus apicibus memoriæ commendamus. In Cumbria itaque, regione quadam inter Angliam et Scotiam sita, fide Catholica in illis climatibus exuberante ac propagante, domestici filii, ac procures regni, cum rege provinciæ cooperante, in honore Dei, et Sanctæ Mariæ piæ genetricis, Ecclesiam Glasguensem, sedem scilicet Pontificalem Cumbrensis Regionis, fundaverunt; et dignis sanctionibus, pro pristina sanctorum religione patrum, solidaverunt. Hæc vero pulchris initialibus, et ecclesiasticis institutionibus, sanctæ quoque fidei rudimentis, inolevit; et dispositione divina Sanctum Kentigernum in episcopum admisit, qui celestis affluentia doctrinæ fidentibus propinaret; et cibum spiritualem, ut fidelis dispensator, esurientibus ministraret. Verum enimvero fraudulentus exterminator supradictam ecclesiam diu inviolabiliter constare ingemiscens, consuetis versutiis suis, post multa temporum curricula, scandala intolerabilia Cumbrensiū ecclesiæ machinavit. Dicto namque Kentigerno pluribus successoribus, sub piæ religionis perseverantia, ad Dominum transmigratis, diversæ seditiones circumquaque insurgentes, non solum ecclesiam, et ejus possessiones, destruxerunt; verum etiam totam regionem vastantes, ejus habitatores exilio tradiderunt. Sic ergo omnibus bonis exterminatis, magnis temporum intervallis transactis, diversæ tribus diversarum nationum, ex diversis partibus affluentes, desertam regionem præfatam habitaverunt; sed dispari gente, et dissimili lingua, et

* From the Appendix to Sir James Dalrymple's Collections; compared with that in the Appendix to Gibson's History of Glasgow, published from a copy of the Chartulary, in the library of Glasgow University.

vario more viventes; haut facile sese consentientes, Gentilitatem potius quam Fidei Cultum tenuerunt. Quos infelices damnatae habitationis habitatores, more pecudum irrationabiliter degentes, dignatus est Dominus, qui neminem vult perire, propitiatione sua visitare: tempore nimirum Henrici Regis Angliæ, Alexandro Scotorum rege in Scotia regnante, misit iis Deus David predicti regis Scotiæ germanum, in Principem et Ducem, qui eorum impudica et scelerata contagia corrigeret; et animi nobilitate, et inflexibili severitate, contumeliosam eorum contumaciam refrenaret. Hic nempe bene vivendi studio fervidus, prophanae multitudinis miseriæ condolens, ut pastoralis sollicitudine, qua diutius caruerunt, eorum opprobria deleret, Divino instigatus hortamine, Joannem quendam religiosum virum, qui eum educaverat, vitamque ejus Deo non imbeciliter devotum noverat, consilio peritorum, clericorumque suorum auxilio, in Episcopum elegit. Sed cum Episcopus cognita infelicitis populi feritate, et abhominabili vitiorum multiplicitate, utpote perterritus, Hierusalem proficisci disposuisset, ab Apostolico Paschali*, licet invitatus, consecratus, officium susceptæ sollicitudinis nullatenus differre voluit; sed cum gaudio, sub plebis alacritate, a principe, et a proceribus regni receptus verbum predicationis, Spiritu Sancto largissime operante, per Cumbrensem parochiam diffudit. David vero Cumbrensis regionis princeps, amore præcipue Dei, partim quoque religionis dilectione et admonitione, terras Ecclesiæ Glas uensi pertinentes, singulis Cumbriæ provinciis, quæ sub dominio et potestate ejus erant, non enim toti Cumbrensi regioni dominabatur, inquirere fecit; ut avidus ipsius ecclesiæ restorationis, possessionum earum, quas antiquitus tenuerat, posteris et sequacibus suis certitudinem relinqueret. Has vero auxilio et investigatione seniorum hominum et sapientiorum totius Cumbriæ, pro posse suo, investigavit; quæ inferius subscribuntur†: Carlemen, Cavicas, Cavicatlethein, Len-

* Papa II. A. D. 1115. *Keith.*

† In Gibson's copy the lands are: 'Carlevien, Camcau, Camca-hetheyn, Lengartheyn, Parhel, Asserhe, Canclut, [Chefernenuar, Carnetheyn, Carvil, Qwendal, Abercarf, Meeheyn,] Planmichel, Stobo, Pentiacob, Alnerumba, Keveronum, Lillefeliva, Hodelm, Edyngahum, Abermele, Drivesdale, Colchtam, Kevertrole, Alchib, Brumeshneyd, Keverlgyrt; in Peblis una carruc. terræ et ecclesiæ; in Kincayrd una car. et ecclesiæ; in Mereboda una car. et ecclesiæ.' Sir James has surely omitted a line: in G. *Aschecheyre* is wanting.

gartheyn, Patelanthe, Cunclut, Pamichel, Stobetis, Pentejacob, Alnecromha, Kenecoun, Lilefcliva, Aschecheyrc, Hodelm, Edingaheyin, Abermelio, Drinisdal, Colchtaim, Kenererold, Aschebi, Brumerhede, Kenergilt. Lii Peebles una carrucata terræ et ecclesia. Lii Kenegryd una acra et ecclesia. Lii Mereboda una carrucata et ecclesia. Has terras juraverunt fore pertinentes ecclesiæ Glasguensi rogatu et imperio predicti principis Uchtrede filius Waldef, Guil. filius Boed, Leyfing et Ogga Cumbrenses iudices, Halden filius Eadulf. Hujus rei testes sunt, ut audientes et videntes, Matildis Ccmitissa quæ ex parte concessit sua, Willielmus nepos ipsius Principis, Cospatricius frater Delphini, Waldef frater suus, Cospatricius filius Uchtred, Cospatricius filius Alden, Osolf filius Eadmer, Maccus filius Undneyn, Uchtred filius Scot, Ulchel filius Alstan, Hugo de Morevil, Paganus de Brausa, Osber de Ardena, Gervasius Riddel, Guido de Caynes, Berengarius Engarn, Robertus Corbitts, Walterus de Lindesaya, Robertus de Burnevilla, Renaldus Denninstans, Walterus filius Winemarii, Gulielmus Venator, Alanus de Parci, Walterus de Bron.

NUMBER XVIII. *Kings of Northumbria.**Bernicia.**Deira.*

547. Ida son of Eoppa,
12 years over both
kingdoms.

559. Adda, or Odda, his
son 5.

564. Clappa 7.

571. Theodulf 1.

572. Freothulf 7.

579. Theodoric 7.

588. Æthelric 2.

These two last were
also sons of Ida;
and reigned while
Ella was king of
Deira.

559. Ella, another son of
Ida, 30.

589. Edwin son of Ella,
expelled by Athel-
frid king of Berni-
cia, who ruled both
k. 14 years. Then
Edwin restored.

593. Athelfrid 24, over both
kingdoms 14.

617. Edwin son of Ella 17 over both kingdoms. On
his death they were separated.

634. Osric son of Athel-
frid.

634. Eanfred son of A-
thelfrid.

Both slain in one year.

634. Oswald brother of Eanfred 9 over both kingdoms.

642. Oswi brother of Of-
wald, 9 in Bernicia.

644. Oswi son of Osric in
Deira 7: slain by
Oswi of Bernicia.

652. Adelwalt 4.

660. Alfred, bastard son of
Oswi, is made king
of Deira by his fa-
ther 10.

The Kingdoms finally united.

670. Egfrid,

670. Egfrid, son of Oswi, 15.
 685. Alfred, bastard son of Oswi, 19.
 704. Eandulf an usurper, 2 months. *Malmfb. Gesta*
Pont. Lib. III. fol. v. 152.
 704. Ofred, son of Alfred, a child, 11.
 715. Kenred, kinsman of Ofred, 2.
 717. Ofric, brother of Kenred, 11.
 728. Ceolwulf kinsman of Kenred, 8. To him Beda
 dedicates his history. He turned monk.
 736. Egbert cousin german to Ceolwulf, 20. Turned
 monk, as many Saxon monarchs did.
 756. Oswald, 1.
 757. Ethelwald, surnamed Mollo, an usurper, 11.
 768. Alred, 11.
 779. Ethelred son of Mollo, 5.
 784. Athelwold, 11.
 796. Ofred, 1.
 Ethelred restored, 4. *Follow 40 years of civil wars.*
 Eardulf.
 Alfwold.
 Eandred.
 Ethelred.
 Redulf.
 840. Osbrecht.
 Ella slain at York by the Danes.
 860. Ricfig, a Dane.
 871. Egbert, a Saxon.
 Guthrun, Dane, 11.
 894. Ricfig II. Dane.
 903. Regnald and Nial, Danes.
 914. Sihtric, a Dane.
 919. Inguald, a Dane.
 926. Guthfert, a Dane.
 Anlaf.
 Anlaf II. expelled by Edmund. Restored in 944:
 expelled by Eadred 947.
 948. Eric, last king, to 950.

* * * The history of Northumbria is very obscure
 from the year 800; and a long dissertation
 would be required to adjust it.

NUMBER XIX. *Earls of Northumbria.*Bib. Cotton. Dom. D. VIII. *Various Chronicles, &c.*[De Successione Comitum Northumbrensiū post Eiricum ultimum regem. *Catal.*] Sæc. 12, vel 13.

P R I M U S comitum post EIRICUM, quem ultimum regem habuerunt Northanimbrenses, *Osulf* provincias omnes Northanymbrorum, sub EDREDO rege procuravit. Deinde, sub EADGARO rege, *Oslac* præfitur comes Eboraco, et locis ejus pertinentibus; et *Eadulf* cognomento *Yvelchild* a Teisa usque Myreford, præponitur Northymbris. Isti duo comites, cum Aelffio, qui apud Sanctum Cuthbertum episcopus fuerat, perduxerunt KYNET regem Scottorum ad Regem EADGARUM. Qui cum illi fecisset hominum, dedit ei rex EADGARUS Lodonenum; et multo cum honore remisit ad propria. Hiis comitibus successit in comitatum *Waltheſ*, ille senior, regnante ATHELREDO. Deinde *Uctredus* filius Walteſi, administravit comitatum omnium Northannymbrorum provinciarum. Huic rex ATHELREDUS suam filiam *Ælgeonam* dederat uxorem; ex qua filiam habens *Aldgitham*, dedit in conjugium prædiviti cuidam *Maldredo*, filio Crinani, de qua habuit *Cospatricium* comitem, patrem Dolphini, Walteſi, et Cospatrici. Occiso autem Uctredo a Turebrando cognomine Hold, per voluntatem CNUTONIS regis, frater ejus *Eadulf Cudel* administravit comitatum. Et post eum *Aldred*, filius Uctredi præfati, quem habuerat ex filia Alduini episcopi, antequam duceret filiam regis ATHELREDI. Habuit etiam alios filios ex alio conjugio, Cospatricium et Eadulfum. Cospatrici erat filius Uctredus, de quo genitus est Eadulf Rus, qui princeps erat et autor illorum qui interfecerunt Walcherum episcopum. Interfecto

1

vero

vero Aldredo comite a Carl, cujus prænomen, scilicet Turebrandum prædictum, ipse Aldredus occiderat in ultionem sui patris Uētrede Comititis, ab ipso Turebrando interfecti, successit illi frater suus junior *Eadulfus*. Qui postmodum, regnante ÆDWARDO, occisus est a *Siwardo*; qui, post illum, totius Northanimbro-
rum comitatum, HOC EST AB HUMERA USQUE TU-
VEODAM, suscepit comitatum. Mortuo autem Siuvar-
do rex ÆDUVARDUS comitatum tradidit *Tostio*, fratri Ha-
roldi regis. Dehinc ipso Tostio, ab universis sui comi-
tatus, propter nimiam ejus violentiam, projecto de co-
mitatu, et exlegato, Eduvinus et Morkarus, quibus
rex EDUWARDUS comitatus ipsius curam delegaverat,
filio Eadulfi comitis fratris Aldredi comitis, nomine
Osulfo, Comitatum A TINA USQUE TUVEDAM* com-
miserunt. Sed postea *Copsi*, a WILLIELMO rege sus-
cipiens præposituram comitatus, expulit de comitatu
Osulfum. At ille, collectis postmodum viribus, eun-
dem Copsi in introitu ecclesiæ de Niweburne interfecit.
Ipse quoque post paucos menses, dum impetu equi cur-
rentis ferretur in lanceam obviantis sibi latronis, delatus
statim moritur. Deinde *Cospatricius*, ex nepte regis
ÆTHELREDI progenitus, ut supra dictum est, euntum
a rege WILLIELMO comitatum administravit. Quem
postea idem rex, ei auferens, dedit *Waldefo*, filio Siwardi
comitis, quem ipse habuerat ex Ælfleda filia Aldredi co-
mitis. Walteso vero capto et occiso, commisit rex co-
mitatum *Walchero* episcopo. Quo occiso, dedit comita-
tum cuidam *Albrio*. Illo vero relinquire comitatum,
datus est cuidam *Roberto de Mulbreio*. A quo rex
WILLIELMUS JUNIOR offensus, dum eum vi cepisset,
ipse in sua manu retinuit comitatum: hodieque frater
ejus HENRICUS rex retinet. Tu autem Domine. Ex-
plicit.

* So that the present extent of Northumberland began in the time of Earl Osulf, about the year 1065: till which time it comprized all Yorkshire, and Durham.

Chron. Pictorum.

1. Cruidne f. Cinge.
2. Kircu.
3. Fidaich.
4. Fortreim.
5. Floclaid.
6. Got.
7. Ke.
8. Fivaid.
9. Gedeol Gudach.
10. Denbecan.
11. Olfinecta.
12. Guidid Gaedbrekach
13. Gestgurtich.
14. Wurgest.
15. Brudi I. Bout.
16. Gilgidi.
17. Tharan I.
18. Morleo.
19. Deokil Lunon.
20. Kimoiod f. Arcois
21. Deoord.
22. Blies Blitirth.
23. Dectoteric.
24. Usconbuts.
25. Carvorst.
26. Deoar Tavois.
27. Vist.
28. Ru.
29. Garnat Boc.
30. Vere.
31. Breth.
32. Vipoig Namet.
33. Canut Ulachama.
34. Wradech Vechla.
35. Garnaich di Uberr.
36. Talore f. Achivir.

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37. Druft f. Erp.	17. Druft f. Irb.	
38. Talore f. Aniel.	18. Talarg f. Amil.	
39. Nefton f. Erp.	19. Nethan Thelcamot.	
40. Druft Gurthinmoch.	20. Druft Gormot.	
41. Galan anetelich.	21. Galam.	
42. Dadrest.		
43. Druft f. Girom.	22. Druft f. Gigurum.	2
Druft f. Udrost.	23. Druft f. Hydroffig.	2
44. Gartnach f. Girom.	24. Ganut f. Gigurum.	2
45. Gailtram f. Girom.	25. Kelturan frater ejus.	2
46. Talorg f. Muircholach.	26. Golorg f. Mordeleg.	3
47. Druft f. Munait.	27. Druft f. Moneth.	3
48. Galam Kennaleph.	28. Tagalad.	3
49. BRUDI f. Mailcon.	29. Brude f. Melchon.	3
50. Garnait f. Domelch.	30. Garnat f. Domnach.	3
51. Neftu n. Verb.	31. Nethan f. Irb.	3
52. Cineoch f. Luthrin.	32. Kinet f. Luthren.	3
53. Garnard f. Wid.	33. Neftan f. Fottle.	3
54. Brudi f. Wid.	34. Brude f. Fothe.	3
55. Talore.	35. Telarg f. Fetobar.	3
56. Talorcen f. Enfret.	36. Talargan f. Amfrud.	4
57. Gartnait f. Donnel.	37. Garnat f. Domnal.	4
58. Druft.	38. Druft.	4
59. Brudi f. Bili.	39. Brude f. Bile.	4
60. Taran f. Entifidich.	40. Taram f. Amfredech.	4
61. Brudi f. Derili.	41. Brude f. Derili.	4
62. Nefton f. Derili.	42. Neftan frater ejus.	4
63. Druft et Elpin.	43. Garnath f. Ferath.	4
64. Onnuft f. Verguft.	44. Oengufa f. Fergufa.	4
65. Brudi f. Verguft.	45. (Nethan f. Derili.)	4
66. Kiniod f. Wredech.		
67. Elpin f. Wroid.	46. Alpin f. Feret.	5
	47. Oengufa f. Brude.	5
	48. Brude f. Tenegus.	5
68. Drest f. Talorgen.		5
69. Talorgen f. Onuft.	49. Druft f. Talargan.	5
70. Canaul f. Tarla.	50. Talargan f. Druften.	5
71. Constantin f. Verguft.	51. Talargan f. Tenegus.	5
72. Unuft f. Verguft.		
73. Druft f. Constantin	52. Constantin f. Fergufa.	5
Talorgen f. Uthoil.	53. Hungus f. Fergufa.	5
74. Uven f. Unuft.	54. Dufstalorg.	5
75. Wrad. f. Bargoit.	55. Eoganan f. Hunguft.	6
76. Bred.	56. Ferat f. Batot.	6
	57. Brude f. Ferat.	6
	58. Kinat f. Ferat.	6
	59. Brude f. Fotel.	6
	60. Druft f. Ferat.	6
77. KENNETH f. Alpin.	61. Kinet f. Alpin.	6

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